1939

The interpretation of the American Civil War in American fiction.

Florence Murray Bailey
University of Louisville

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IN AMERICAN FICTION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School of the University of Louisville

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts

Department of English

By

Florence Murray Bailey

Year

1939

Name of Student: Florence Murray Bailey

Title of Thesis: The Interpretation of the American Civil War in American Fiction

Thesis Director: Dr. Ernest C. Hassold

Approved by a Reading Committee Composed of the Following:

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Date: June, 1939.

PREFACE

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The large number of recent novels dealing with the American Civil War[1] suggested that it might be interesting to investigate the interpretation of the Civil War in American fiction. Such an investigation should shed light, first, on the changes in the American mind in regard to its experience of a civil war and, secondly, on the functions of fiction in interpreting this experience through successive generations. The subject has been treated in part by other writers. Paul H. Buck in The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900[2] considers the changes in American attitudes towards the Civil War for the period covered by his study. But his treatment of fiction is not exhaustive, nor does his book extend beyond 1900. A doc-

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[1] In the last five years ten novels dealing seriously with the Civil War have been published: Stark Young, So Red the Rose (1934); MacKinlay Kantor, Long Remember (1934); Margaret Mitchell, Gone with the Wind (1936); MacKinlay Kantor, Arouse and Beware (1936); Caroline Duff-Gordon, None Shall Look Back (1937); Royce Brier, Boy in Blue (1937); Clifford Dowdey, Bugles Blow No More (1937); Hervey Allen, Action at Aquila (1938); William Faulkner, The Unvanquished (1938); Allen Tate, The Fathers (1938).

[2] Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937).

toral dissertation[3] by Rebecca Washington Smith catalogs all the Civil War fiction published in periodicals or in book form between 1861 and 1899, but her study has a broader scope than this thesis has. Invaluable as both these studies are for the purposes of the present investigation, they leave room for a study of American fictional interpretations of the Civil War from 1861 to 1939.

By "interpretation" here is meant a serious presentation of the conflict in terms of human experience. The following criteria were used in selecting pertinent material:

1. The fiction must be written on an adult level.

2. It must focus on the Civil War, not on its approach or aftermath, and not use it simply as a background or something incidental to another theme.

3. It must deal with the war as general human experience, not simply as a setting for military or naval adventures.

4. It must give a sense of the cause and effects of the war.

Limiting the subject to fictional interpretations of the war eliminated a great deal of material: (1) juveniles, (2) melodramas, including tales of military and naval

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3 Rebecca Washington Smith, "The Civil War and Its Aftermath in American Fiction, 1861-1899, with a Dictionary Catalogue and Indexes," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1932).

exploits, (3) love romances, and (4) fiction dealing with related problems such as slavery, reconstruction, reconciliation, and the rise of financial capitalism.[4] This study is restricted to fiction that has found publication in book form.

Analysis of the materials selected on this basis reveals a double shift from political to psychological preoccupation. It was natural that fiction written about the Civil War during the war or its aftermath in Reconstruction should be predominantly partisan, and that in the 'eighties and 'nineties partisanship should give way

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[4]Typical cases of excluded material are:

Juveniles: W. Altsheler, Civil War Series; T. N. Page, Among the Camps (1891); T. N. Page, Two Little Confederates (1888); J. T. Trowbridge, The Drummer Boy (1863); J. T. Trowbridge, The Three Scouts (1865).

Melodramas, including tales of military and naval exploits: Novels of John Esten Cooke; G. W. Cable, Cavalier (1901); Novels of General Charles King.

Love romances: Novels of General Charles King.

Related problems: Slavery: L. M. Child, A Romance of the Republic (1867); Mark Twain, Pudd'nhead Wilson (1893). Religion: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, The Gates Ajar (1868). Reconciliation theme: Local color stories of J. C. Harris, T. N. Page and Constance Fenimore Woolson. Aftermath and reconstruction: G. W. Cable, John March, Southerner (1894); Mark Twain, The Gilded Age (1873); T. Dixon, Leopard Spots (1902); T. Dixon, The Clansman (1905); T. Dixon, The Traitor (1907); E. Glasgow, The Romance of a Plain Man (1909); T. N. Page, Red Rock (1898).

to psychological reflection. It is not so self-evident that fiction interpreting the Civil War to the twentieth century should be political in a new sense in the years between the Spanish-American War and the World War and psychological in a new sense after the World War.

Each of these four changes is discussed in a separate chapter. I have analyzed the fiction in considerable detail for three reasons: (1) many of the novels are not readily available; (2) I am using the individual work as illustrations of the unfolding pattern of America's changing understanding of the Civil War as that understanding is interpreted in fiction; (3) I wish to give a sense of the value of the individual works.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL: PARTISANSHIP AND RECONCILIATION

1861-1879

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POLITICAL: PARTISANSHIP AND RECONCILIATION

1861-1879

Between 1861 and 1879, according to my count, one hundred eighteen works of a fictional nature were written which deal with the American Civil War and which have been published in book form. Among these are light romantic love stories, melodramas, stories giving accounts of military proceedings, local color stories, and juveniles.[1] These types of fiction do not give a serious presentation of the conflict in terms of human experience. Among these one hundred eighteen items there are only eleven novels which are interpretations of the war.

These fictional interpretations of the American Civil War are partisan and pamphlet-like in character. They are not psychological studies of individuals in wartime, but they deal with sectional or national problems in the spirit of champions of a cause. The experiences selected by the authors are representative rather than peculiar, common rather than individual. The selection is

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[1] Most of these are in Miss Smith's bibliography: Rebecca Washington Smith, "The Civil War and Its Aftermath in American Fiction, 1861-1899, with a Dictionary Catalogue and Indexes," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1932). I have added a few.

determined by the author's point of view. The treatment of the experience selected is marked by antithesis of sections and of social classes.

There are at least three points of view which have fictional spokesmen. To some Southern novelists the cause was that of States' Rights; to others it was the cause of the Southern Unionists. The former novelists are spokesmen of the slave-holding class which felt that the North was interfering with the economic growth and prosperity of their section and that the only condition under which the South could enjoy freedom and prosperity was outside of the union with the North. They believed that a state had the right to secede if it wished to do so, hence the cause they fought for was that of States' Rights.[2] The latter novelists were spokesmen of the substantial, non-slave-holding class of Southerners who did not feel that the North was interfering with their freedom and prosperity. These Southerners, who were called Southern Unionists, disapproved of secession and bemoaned the fact that a time had come when loyal citizens of the United States

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[2]Southern Secessionist novels: Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, Macaria; or The Altars of Sacrifice (1864); Charles Wells Russell, Roebuck (1866); R. H. Crozier, Confederate Spy; or, Startling Incidents of the War between the States (1866); Lucy Virginia Smith French, Kernwood; or After Many Days (1867).

were persecuted for their loyalty. These loyal citizens often lost both their lives and property at the hands of their fellow Southerners who looked upon the Southern Unionists as traitors to the South. The fictional spokesmen of this class wrote to publish these wrongs and to assure the North of some Union sentiment in the South.[3] The poor white class in the South, who supported the secessionists in order to keep the negro in his place below them in the social scale, had a spokesman in humor,[4] but none in fiction. To the Northern novelists the cause to be fought for was the preservation of the Union.[5] There is an interesting novel written by a Northerner in 1859, two years before the war began.[6] It agrees with the later

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[3] Southern Unionist Novels: Isaac Kelso, The Stars and Bars; or, The Reign of Terror in Missouri (1863); Jeremiah Clemens, Tobias Wilson (1865); A. O. Wheeler, Eye-Witness; or, Life Scenes in the Old North State (1865); William Mumford Baker, Inside: A Chronicle of Secession (1866).

[4] Charles H. Smith, Bill Arp, So-Called, A Side Show of the Southern Side of the War (New York: Metropolitan Record Office, 1866).

[5] John William DeForest, Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty (1867); Henry Ward Beecher, Norwood: Village Life in New England (1867); Mary J. Holmes, Rose Mather (1868).

[6] John Beauchamp Jones, Wild Southern Scenes (Philadelphia: Petersen, 1859).

Northern novels in the belief that it was right to preserve the Union, but it describes the war as one in which the President of the United States and the loyal citizens preserved the Union against two groups of extremists, one Northern and the other Southern. Other Northern attitudes had spokesmen among the humorists, but not among the novelists.[7]

The four novels which interpret the war from the point of view of the Secessionists are definitely pamphlet-like in their purpose. Macaria (1864) by Augusta Jane Evans Wilson attempts to inflame the South to greater efforts by making the Southern cause a sacred cause and by condemning the North. Roebuck (1866) by Charles Wells Russell tries to prove the South right by stating the familiar arguments of the seceding states. Confederate Spy (1866) by R. H. Crozier was written to urge the South to establish her intellectual independence even though she has failed to win a political independence. It condemns

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[7] C. F. Browne, Artemus Ward: His Book (1862); R. H. Newell, Orpheus C. Kerr Papers (1862); D. R. Locke, Divers Views, Opinions, and Prophecies of Yours Trooly, Petroleum V. Nasby (1865).

the North and pictures Northern people very unfavorably. Kernwood (1867) by Lucy Virginia Smith French was written to assure the defeated South of its superiority to the North and to offer consolation by predicting a future success.

The facts about Macaria (1864) are an interesting revelation of the war atmosphere surrounding its publication. It was written by a Southern nurse during Sherman's march. Augusta Jane Evans[8] (not yet Mrs. Wilson) had published two novels before the war -- Inez (1858) and Beulah (1859). The soldiers called the camp where she nursed "Camp Beulah."

Macaria was printed by West and Johnson of Richmond, Virginia, on wrapping paper, bound, possibly, in

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[8] Augusta Jane Evans (1835-1909) was born on May 4, 1835, near Columbus, Georgia. During her childhood she lived in Columbus, Georgia, in Galveston and San Antonio, Texas, and in Mobile, Alabama. Her permanent home became Mobile. After nursing throughout the war, Augusta Jane Evans, in 1868, married Lorenzo M. Wilson, who was then the president of the Mobile and Montana Railroad, and during his lifetime she wrote no more novels because he did not want her to over-tax her strength. She wrote Inez (1858), Beulah (1859), Macaria (1864), St. Elmo (1866), and, after her husband's death in 1879, The Speckled Bird and Devota. The last two novels do not rank so high as her earlier stories. -- LaSalle Corbell Pickett, Literary Hearthstones of Dixie (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1912).

gaily-figured wall-paper.[9] It became very popular among the Southern soldiers who felt, after reading it, that their sacrifices were made in a worthy cause. Among the Northern armies it was equally unpopular; one Federal officer seized and burned all the copies that he could find. However, the author wanted her interpretation of the war read in the North, and through her efforts it was published by J. B. Lippincott who, incidentally, induced another publisher to pay Augusta Jane Evans a royalty on the five thousand copies that that publisher had ready to issue.

Macaria is written in the style of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the style of the domestic sentimentalists; that is, from a woman's point of view and filled with many tears, much religion, frequent discussions of right and wrong, and many references to classical literature. Augusta Jane Evans found a classical parallel and named her book for

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[9] The publishers who figured in those days below the Mason and Dixon line manufactured many volumes of a military character, printing on paper made from cotton and rags, and because of the chemical crudity, resulting in a poor quality of finish. . . . Many Southern libraries still preserve books from this same firm (S. H. Goetzel), bound for want of better covers, in gaily figured wall-paper. -- Moses, The Literature of the South (New York: T. Y. Crowell and Company, 1910), pp. 326-327.

Thomas D. Osborne, the donor of the copy of Macaria which I borrowed from the library, wrote with pencil on a flyleaf that the book was written during the war 1861-1865 and was printed on brown Confederate paper.

Macaria, the Grecian girl who had sacrificed her life to save Athens from invasion and subjugation. Augusta Jane Evans made two girls her central characters and made them "altars of sacrifice." Electra and Irene, the heroines of Macaria, found in the war a compensation for the happy married lives they both had been forced to forego. Electra had devoted herself to art, but during the war she nursed the soldiers and felt that she was serving a cause greater than art. Irene had made religion her strength, and the nursing of the soldiers during the war gave her an excellent opportunity to practice and teach what she believed. She felt that in serving the South, she was serving God, and that, while nursing the soldiers, she could bring them closer to God. Just after a Southern soldier died, Irene said: ". . . He believed, and that comforts me. I have talked and read much to him during his illness, and found that he had no fear of eternity."[10] When the war was over, Electra and Irene, the "altars of sacrifice," were not simply resigned to their fate, but were happy that they had served the South.

In Macaria the Southern cause is made a sacred cause, one for which it was a privilege and a pleasure to

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[10] Augusta J. Evans, Macaria (New York: The F. M. Lupton Publishing Company, 1896), p. 396.

sacrifice one's all, while the Northern cause is bitterly condemned. These quotations are very typical of the author's attitude toward the war. Irene said: "Another patriot gone -- another soul to bear witness before God against our oppressors and murderers."[11] At another time she said:

> . . . I cannot, like Macaria, by self-immolation, redeem my country; . . . but I yield up more than she ever possessed. I give my all on earth -- my father and yourself -- to our beloved and suffering country. My God! accept the sacrifice, and crown the South a sovereign, independent nation! . . . Goodby Russell! Do your duty nobly; win deathless glory on the battle-field, in defense of our sacred cause; and remember that your laurels will be very precious to my lonely heart.[12]

Augusta Jane Evans emphasized the wrong of the Northern side by making a Northern minister, who had opposed secession, turn to the Southern cause because of his sincere belief in the righteousness of that cause. When asked why he was wearing a Confederate uniform, the minister replied that he objected to the dictatorship of Lincoln, that he believed that the North had violated Liberty, leaving Liberty only in the seven seceding states, and that he condemned the North for exposing the South to a servile insurrection by encouraging the slaves to desert their

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[11] Ibid., p. 396

[12] Ibid., pp. 334-335.

masters. These, in part, are his words:

> I am a chaplain in a Texas regiment, and have been with the army from the beginning of these days of blood. At first it was a painful step for me; my affections, my associations, the hallowed reminiscences of my boyhood, all linked my heart with New York. . . . I loved and revered the Union . . . Secession I opposed and regretted at the time as unwise; but to the dogma of consolidated government I could yield no obedience; and when every sacred constitutional barrier had been swept away by Lincoln -- when the habeas corpus was abolished, and freedom of speech and press denied -- when the Washington conclave essayed to coerce freemen, to "crush Secession" through the agency of the sword and cannon -- then I swore allegiance to the "Seven States" where all of republican liberty remained.[13]

Thus, in a sentimental, rousing way, but from a woman's point of view, was the war interpreted in 1864 by a Southerner. Thus did Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, in Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice, attempt to encourage and inflame Southerners to work and fight with renewed energy in a righteous, sacred cause.

Macaria is a woman secessionist's interpretation of the war written while the war was still in progress. Roebuck gives us a man's interpretation of the Southern cause, and it, too, was written during the war.

Charles Wells Russell (1818-1867), a Virginia scholar, teacher, and lawyer, wrote Roebuck "among the exciting scenes of the war, "although the book was not

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[13] Ibid., p. 393.

published until 1866.[14] The story takes place in Virginia and in Washington, D.C., in 1861 and 1862. It has a complete outfit of conventional characters.[15] Julia Fairfax, the heroine, is the daughter of one of the First Families of Virginia. Her two suitors are Hugh Fitzhugh, a gallant Southerner, and pale, skulking Albert Palmer, the son of a Massachusetts merchant who does his best to profit by the war. Of course, Hugh marries Julia. Also figuring in the story are good, humble Mark Marlin and his sister, poor whites, and a gentlemanly Union officer who is nursed by Julia's family. The novel centers on the events in the lives of the Fairfax family whose plantation is called Roebuck. Their home is burned. Mr. Fairfax dies in a Federal prison rather than take an oath of allegiance to the Federal government. Julia's uncle is killed while trying to secure her father's freedom. Her mother dies of a broken heart. Her New England suitor tries to force her to marry him by offering to save her father in return for her hand. The Massachusetts merchant wanted his son to marry a Southern girl while he himself clung to the Union, so that however the war turned out he would be prosperous.

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[14] Prof. A. T. Bledsoe, LL. D., Editor of the Southern Review, "Biographical Notice" in C. W. Russell, Roebuck (Baltimore: Henry Taylor and Company, 1868).

[15] R. W. Smith, Dictionary Catalog.

But Julia could not marry Palmer because she was engaged to Hugh.

Roebuck is extremely Southern in its sympathies and opinions. The Southern characters are everything desirable -- generous, gracious, good-mannered, refined, self-possessed, and intelligent. The New Englanders are the exact opposite -- dishonest, bookish, and coldly formal in their manner. As for the negro, Roebuck presents the typical Southern upper-class opinion. Russell says that the negro race was intended by God to be held in slavery, that negroes are better off as slaves, that they are happier than the Northern white laborers, that they are not capable of ruling themselves, and that the masters are really the slaves because they must care for the black race. Russell interprets the war as a war in which the cheap, mercenary Northerners were trying to interfere with the ideal civilization of high-minded Southerners.

So, during the war Augusta Jane Evans Wilson urged the South on to greater effort, and Charles Wells Russell stated the Southern case. The other two Secessionist interpretations were written after the war. They, too, represent a man's and a woman's opinions.

R. H. Crozier was among the defeated but unconvinced Southerners. He wrote to compete with Northern

writers and hoped that the South could establish her mental independence even though she had lost her political independence. Confederate Spy (1866) was his first novel. In the Preface, written in Panola County, Mississippi, on May 28, 1865, he says that he:

> . . . submits the book to the judgment of the patriotic Southern public with the hope that it may help to supplant the poisonous Northern literature which has for so many years flooded the South, and villified the Southern people and their institutions. The time has now come when there ought to be a change. The South must have a literature of her own. If we could not gain our political, let us establish at least our mental independence.

Besides promoting a Southern literature, Crozier had another purpose in writing his first novel. He wanted to express his contempt for the North, and in the novel he presents the North in as unfavorable a light as he could. He tells us in the Preface that the story is almost a narrative of facts, and he apologizes for the profanity by saying that "Yankee character cannot be correctly delineated without it."

In 1885 Crozier wrote a preface to a fifth edition of the book, which was published in Louisville. Between the fourth and fifth editions he had become a minister, and there is an interesting softening of his attitude toward the North in the new preface. He again apologizes for the profanity and says that, except for the Southern

demand for the book, he would have let it go out of print. In this preface he says that the profanity cannot be omitted without changing the true picture, not of Yankees, this time, but of military men. The purpose of the book, according to this preface, was to show in what manner the war was conducted. Since the profanity was used by Yankee military men and not by Confederates and since the book shows the war conducted in a villainous way by the North, his changed wording thinly veils the bitterness which he evidently still felt. At the end of this preface he speaks more plainly:

> Henry Winston and Emily Burrell are exponents of Southern sentiment and true types of Southern character and as such they must kindle the patriotic emotions and awaken the sympathy of every Southern man, or woman, who reads this volume. Our Northern brethren have sent forth many books more abusive than this. It is only just and fair to accord to us the privilege of defending ourselves by stating our side of the question at issue.
>
> But we have said enough, and "with malice toward none" we send forth another edition of the "Confederate Spy," hoping that it will be interesting and useful to readers generally.

Crozier intended Confederate Spy to be a realistic picture of the war as it entered the experience of Emily Burrell, the representative of the best in Southern women, and Henry Winston, the Confederate spy and a Southern gentleman. However, although Crozier had served as captain

of a regiment of Mississippi volunteers and had firsthand experience to record, his novel is sometimes melodramatic and his viewpoint sometimes too obviously prejudiced. He was young in years, inexperienced as a writer, and too much influenced by partisanship.[16]

The story is briefly this: Just before the beginning of the war Emily Burrell of Kentucky falls in love with Henry Winston of Mississippi. At the end of the war, after both have suffered from misunderstandings and wartime hardships made worse by the Northern villain, Walter Hallam, they are married and go to Cuba for safety from the North.

The book interprets the war as a conflict in which the barbarous North, composed of villains and ignorant, contemptible foreigners and ruled by a drunkard, defeated the "Goddess of Liberty," as Crozier calls the South. Crozier makes the Northern soldiers act like thieves and talk like ignorant Irish or Dutch. Lincoln is made to perform as a drunken dupe. Crozier refers to one Northern leader as General Robespierre and to another as Colonel Nero. He quotes Abu-Bekr's instructions of twelve hundred

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[16] Biographical facts are from the prefaces in the fifth edition of the novel, R. H. Crozier, The Confederate Spy (Louisville: John P. Morton and Company, 1885).

years ago against barbarism and accuses the Yankees of violating them all. Finally, Crozier is amusing in his dramatic farewell to Liberty and the Confederacy. He tells the "Goddess of Liberty" to tell all her wrongs to Washington, Andrew Jackson, Calhoun, and Webster when she sits with them in paradise: "Tell all this, Goddess of Liberty, and Washington, and Jackson, and Calhoun, and Webster will weep tears of blood, even in heaven."[17] The novel closes with a farewell to the Confederate flag. The poem quoted is by Father Ryan.

> Poor Colonel Ellsworth fell in the very first battle in which he was engaged for the defense of southern honor. He was a noblehearted man, and deserves the gratitude of all true southern patriots. Requiescat in pace. Let him rest with all other Confederate heroes, who have spilled their blood for liberty, under the drooping folds of the Confederate flag. It is their winding sheet. Glorious banner! we lay thee down, bloodstained, with emotions ineffable. Thy "stars and bars" are destined no more to wave over the southern land. Thou art furled forever!
>
> Honored flag! we take a mournful leave of thee in the following beautiful lines of an American poet -- a just tribute to the cause of which thou art the emblem:
>
> Take that banner down; 'tis weary--
> Round its staff 'tis drooping dreary:
> Furl it, fold it, let it rest;
> For there's not a man to wave it,
> For there's not a sword to save it,
> In the blood that heroes gave it;
> And its foes now scorn and brave it:
> Furl it, hide it, let it rest.

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[17] R. H. Crozier, Confederate Spy, p. 400

Take that banner down; 'tis tattered --
Broken is its staff, and shattered;
And the valiant hosts are scattered
Over whom it floated high.
O, 'tis hard for us to fold it,
Hard to think there's none to hold it,
Hard that those who once unrolled it,
Now must furl it with a sigh.

Furl that banner -- furl it sadly;
Once six millions hailed it gladly,
And ten thousand, wildly, madly,
Swore it should forever wave --
Swore that foeman's sword should never
Hearts like theirs entwined dissever;
And that flag should float forever
O'er their freedom or their grave.

Furl it, for the hands that grasped it,
And the hearts that fondly clasped it,
Cold and dead, are lying low;
And that banner, it is trailing,
While around it sounds the wailing
Of its people, in their woe.
For, though conquered they adore it;
Love the cold dead hands that bore it;
Pardon those who trail and tore it;
O, how wildly they deplore it,
Now to furl and fold it so!

Furl that banner; true 'tis gory,
But 'tis wreathed around with glory,
And 't will live in song and story.
Though its folds are in the dust:
For its fame, on brightest pages,
Penned by poets and by sages,
Shall go sounding down the ages --
Furl its folds though now we must.

Furl that banner, softly, slowly;
Furl it gently -- it is holy,
For it droops above the dead:
Touch it not, unfurl it never;
Let it droop there, furled forever,
For its people's hopes are fled![18]

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[18] Ibid., pp. 405-406.

Kernwood; or, After Many Days (1867), the last Southern interpretation published in this period, is written from a woman's point of view. Lucy Virginia Smith French, the author, gave encouragement to the defeated South in her novel which was published in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1867. Lucy Virginia Smith French had not always sympathized with the South. Although a Southerner, born on March 16, 1825, in Virginia, she had been educated in Pennsylvania. Then she was employed as a teacher in Memphis, Tennessee. She probably understood both the Northern and the Southern points of view; but, when she saw the war approaching, she became a warm supporter of the Union, and during the war she wrote in behalf of its restoration. While teaching in Tennessee, she wrote for the Louisville Journal under the pen-name of L'Inconnue.[19] After the war her Southern blood must have triumphed over her political convictions or she played to a prevailing mood, for Kernwood gives both sympathy and encouragement to the South.

Kernwood is a sentimental novel which interprets the war as a war in which the South nobly and willingly fought for liberty. The justice of the Southern cause is

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[19] Biographical facts from Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928).

emphasized by the use, as the central character, of a British woman, a professional spy, who came to America because she thought that her services were needed in the South. Amanda Douglas, the spy, had served with Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War before coming to America to offer her services to the Confederate War Department, which made her the captain of an organized band of spies. During the Civil War she secured information for the Confederacy by passing through the Federal lines disguised as an Irish vegetable peddler or as an Irish woman trying to sell a bale of cotton. Corinne Houghton, Amanda's American cousin, also served as a spy during the war. Corinne is the connecting link between Amanda and the other principal characters. Corinne was a neighbor to Colonel Courie and his family, who had moved from Louisiana to Kernwood, an estate in Tennessee, in order to benefit the health of Mrs. Courie. The Courie family represent the planter aristocracy. When the war came, Corinne and the Courie family expressed joy in the secession of their state and planned to serve the South to the utmost. Colonel Courie led a regiment, Corinne became a spy, and Eloise served at home. Mrs. Courie had died. In addition to these characters, there is another group who carry on a story not related to the war. Eloise's governess, Miss

Cora, was really the daughter of a good family and the wife of a gentleman; but being separated from her husband by a trick of fate, she had left Pauline, their daughter, to be raised as a foundling by a wealthy Southern family. The events which lead to the discovery of Miss Cora's identity and to the re-uniting of the little family form a plot running through the novel along with the adventures of Amanda in the war.

L'Inconnue's interpretation of the war is interesting in that it encourages the South, not by dwelling on the righteousness of their cause, but by telling a pleasant story shot through with a Confederate spy's clever doings in deceiving Federal soldiers. There is no doubt in the book that the South was right and the North wrong. Near the end of the last chapter Lucy Virginia Smith French says:

> We have been through the war, and peace is again restored to our country; but liberty is crushed, and the "end is not yet." The justice of our defeat is known only to the High Ruler of the Universe, and we dare not question, but submit; . . .[20]

The promise that the South will rise again and demand redress is also interesting. The author says:

> We are a vanquished people, but yet not utterly prostrate, for

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[20] L.V.S. French, Kernwood (Louisville, Kentucky: Published for the author by John P. Morton and Company, 1867), pp. 389-390.

"There is life in the old land yet";

> and phoenix-like, it will rise from the ashes of the past and lift its voice for redress. The rights of the Southron may slumber, and evil men have power for a while, and poverty and sorrow fill our hearts, but . . .[21]

To the defeated South in 1867 Kernwood should have been a very soothing story.

Macaria, Roebuck, Confederate Spy, and Kernwood are based on the belief that secession was right. In contrast to these we have the novels of the Southern Unionists who say, in effect, "Secession is one crime of the Secessionists, and the persecution of loyal citizens is another." Like the Secessionist novels, these novels are pamphlet-like in their purpose. We shall discuss Tobias Wilson by Jeremiah Clemens, and, having established a pattern, we shall then summarize the interpretations given by the other Southern Unionist novels.

Jeremiah Clemens (1814-1865) wrote Tobias Wilson, A Tale of the Great Rebellion because he wanted to leave a record of the wrongs which he and other Southern Unionists in the South suffered at the hands of irregular Confederate troops. Clemens says:

> . . . Nothing is depicted here which did not occur as related, or which has not a parallel in some other

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[21] Ibid., p. 390.

> actual occurrence. . . . property taken or destroyed . . . their persons constantly threatened with incarceration, if not with assassination, . . . their sons dragged to the slaughter-pen . . . the sending of our wives into exile, without the means of subsistence, and dependent for bread upon the charity of the people of the North, or of such chance refugees who had escaped under happier auspices, . . .[22]

Jeremiah Clemens, a veteran of the war for Texan independence and of the war with Mexico, a novelist, and a senator, had been forced, in 1862, to leave his home in Huntsville, Alabama, because of his Unionist tendencies. He went to Philadelphia where he wrote Tobias Wilson and where he conducted a pamphlet campaign against his state. In 1864, he advocated the re-election of Lincoln. Tobias Wilson was published by the J. B. Lippincott Company (the same company that published Macaria, 1864) in Philadelphia in 1865, probably while Clemens was still living there. However, he returned to Huntsville, Alabama, toward the close of the war and died there on May 21, 1865, a few weeks after peace had been declared.[23]

The theme of the novel is the persecution of Southern Unionists in the South by irregular Confederate troops. Tobias Wilson's grandfather, a sixty-five year old Union

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[22] J. Clemens, Tobias Wilson (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1865), Preface.

[23] Biographical facts from Dictionary of American Biography

sympathizer living peacefully on a farm in the mountainous part of northern Alabama, was murdered by three Southern marauders called partisan rangers (the worst materials in the Confederate army, Clemens says) who wanted his cabin for their headquarters in case the Union forces came into that section. His death is revenged by Thomas Rogers, a friend and neighbor of Tobias. Thomas revenged the death for two reasons -- he feared his own father's life was in danger, and, because of his sister, he did not want Tobias to do it. Tobias and Sophy Rogers were engaged to be married, but Sophy believed that vengeance belongs to God and she would not have married Tobias if he had undertaken to execute the vengeance. She could forgive her brother. In this part of the novel Clemens was influenced by the domestic sentimentalists, but the main part of the story follows realistically the movements and manoeuvers of the irregular troops, in showing how Thomas finally got his revenge. The house of Thomas Rogers, Sr., was surrounded one night and accidentally set afire. A few things were saved, but the house was burned to the ground. Tobias, who was living there at the time, was taken prisoner but escaped. After this event Thomas Rogers, Sr., Sophy, and Tobias's mother were sent to the North for safety. After the death had been avenged, Tobias and his friend fought

in the Union army. The story ends before the war is over.

That is the realistic picture which Jeremiah Clemens gives of the war. He resists the interpretation given by Southerners like Augusta J. E. Wilson. To him the war was something which demoralized some of the Southern people -- the ones who joined the irregular bands -- and caused them to persecute Southern Unionists. The attitudes of the other three Southern Unionist novels may be summarized briefly. The books are dedicated to the generals and soldiers of the Union army and to loyal Southerners. In prefaces the authors state that the narratives were written among the scenes described and are true accounts of what occurred. The purpose of the authors in recording the events was twofold -- to assure the North of Union sentiment in the South and to reveal the shocking crimes committed by disloyal Southerners. Their novels decry the presence of slavery in the South. They present the secessionists as ignorant or stupid people, as drunkards, and as politicians out for personal gain. This is obviously not a complete picture of Secessionists, but it is an easily understood picture when we remember that there was bitter resentment over personal injuries rankling in the breasts of these authors. The author who speaks best of the South says that he loves the South, but

that he loves the nation more.[24] In their bitterest terms these Southern Unionists define the war as a deadly struggle between civilization and barbarism, between freedom and slavery, between republicanism and aristocracy, and between loyalty and treason.[25] In their mildest terms they define the war as something which brought a better life to the South by destroying slavery.[26]

The Southern Secessionists interpreted the war as a war for liberty. The Southern Unionists interpreted it as a war which was caused by Southern hotheads and which brought terrible suffering to many loyal citizens. We have yet to discuss the Northern interpretations of the war. They were written more for the purpose of entertainment and less for the purpose of pamphlets than were the Southern novels.

The three novels written from a Northern point of view are variations on the theme that secession was wrong and that it was, therefore, right to preserve the Union. Rose Mather (1868) by Mary Jane Holmes makes the preserv-

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[24] William Mumford Baker, Inside (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), Preface.

[25] Isaac Kelso, The Stars and Bars (Boston: A. Williams and Company, 1863), Preface.

[26] William Mumford Baker, Inside. The hero, a minister and probably Baker's spokesman, expresses this opinion.

ing of the Union a religious cause, just as Macaria made the Southern struggle for freedom a religious cause. Norwood: Village Life in New England (1867) by Henry Ward Beecher magnamiously finds excuses for the mistaken and misguided South which seceded and caused a war. Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty (1867) by John William DeForest presents the Northern arguments and attempts to record and to evaluate one incident in the North's preservation of the Union, the freeing of the slaves. We shall discuss these books in order.

Rose Mather was written by a Northern woman, Mary Jane Holmes,[27] and is dedicated "to the soldiers living and the memory of the soldiers dead." Like Macaria, it is written in the style of the domestic sentimentalists. The novel pictures wartimes in a New York village and in the Union army. In Miss Smith's words it is:

> . . . a picture of hearts and homes, wherein a rich girl, Rose Mather, learns the lessons war teaches: to give up her husband to her country, to share the griefs of the poor, to work for the Sanitary Commission, and to accept religion.[28]

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[27] Mary Jane Hawes Holmes (April 5, 1825 - October 6, 1907) was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts. After her marriage to Daniel Holmes in 1849 she spent most of her life in Brockport, New York, although she and her husband lived for a short period at Versailles, Kentucky. -- Dictionary of American Biography.

[28] R. W. Smith, Dictionary Catalog.

The story is laid chiefly in the New York village, but the scene shifts occasionally to describe battles and the horrors of prison life in Libby, Belle Island, and Andersonville. It also leaves the village to show a Quaker family nursing a Union soldier, a member of the Masonic Order helping a fellow-member, and a family of Southern Unionists aiding Union soldiers.

This author interprets the war as a religious cause, a cause for which Northerners willingly and cheerfully sacrificed their all. On the first page Mary Jane Holmes says:

> The long disputed point as to whether the South was in earnest or not was settled, and through the Northern States the tidings flew that Sumter had fallen and the war had commenced. . . . Political differences were forgotten. Republicans and Democrats struck the friendly hand, pulse beat to pulse, heart throbbed to heart, and the watchword everywhere was, "The Union Forever." Throughout the length and breadth of the land were true, loyal hearts, and as at Rhoderic Dhu's command the Highlanders sprang to view from every clump of heather on the wild moors of Scotland, so when the war-cry came up from Sumter our own Highlanders arose, a mighty host, responsive to the call.[29]

The identification of the war with religion is emphasized by the author's comment on a church's being the place of the village's first war meeting:

> . . . a dense and promiscous crowd wended its way

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[29] M. J. Holmes, Rose Mather (New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1896), p. 9.

> to the old brick church, whose hallowed walls echoed the sound of fife and drum, strange music for the house of God, but more acceptable, in that dark hour, than songs of praise sung by vain and thoughtless lips.[30]

It was religion which enabled the women to send their husbands to the war:

> There was a terrible struggle going on in Annie Graham's breast, duty to her country and love for her husband waging a mighty conflict, the former telling her that if the right would triumph, somebody's husband must go, and the wife-heart crying out, "Yes, somebody's husband must go, I know, but not mine, not George."[31]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Anon, however, something whispered to her that the God she loved was on the field of carnage, and in the camp and in the hospital, and everywhere as much as there in Rockland, that prayers innumerable would follow the brave volunteers, and that the evil she so much feared might be the means of working the great good she so desired. And thus it was that Annie came to a decision.[32]

The religious interpretation of the idea that it was right to preserve the Union dominates the picture of the war in Rose Mather, but there is also some of the magnanimous tolerance which we shall find so prominent in Beecher's Norwood. The war is often explained in Rose Mather as the result of a lack of understanding between the people of the two sections. Note this conversation

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[30] Ibid., p. 30.

[31] Ibid., p. 12.

[32] Ibid., p. 25.

between a Union and a Confederate soldier:

> "Whose government will answer for all this, yours or the one that I acknowledge?"
>
> "Both, both!" Tom replied vehemently; and the stranger rejoined:
>
> "Yes, both have much to answer for, -- one for not yielding a little more, and the other for its rash impetuosity. Oh, had we, as a people, known each other; could we have guessed what brave, kind hearts there were both North and South, we should never have come to this; but we believed our leaders too much; trusted too implicitly in the dastardly falsehoods of a lying press; and it has brought us here."[33]

Norwood (1867) was written by Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887),[34] a Congregational minister and a brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812-1896). In 1863 Beecher visited England and was successful in winning many sympathizers to the Northern cause. Norwood, however, was

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[33] Ibid., 108.

[34] Henry Ward Beecher was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, June 24, 1813, the eighth child of Lyman Beecher and Roxana Foote Beecher. Lyman Beecher was a Congregational minister, who attained in his day an eminence scarcely less than that which his son later attained. Henry Ward Beecher's first pastorate was the Presbyterian Church at Lawrenceburg, Indiana. From there he went to a Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis, Indiana. From 1847 until his death in 1887 he was the minister of the Congregational Church in Brooklyn, New York. That church became famous as "Beecher's Church." -- Biographical facts from Lyman Abbott, Henry Ward Beecher (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), and Harriet and Percy Fitzhugh, Concise Biographical Dictionary, (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1935).

written simply because Beecher had promised a publisher that he would write a story about the war. The story expresses a tolerant attitude toward the South.

The theme of Norwood is village life in New England during the war. In choosing and developing that theme Beecher shows the influence of the local colorists, who were beginning to appear in American literature. His famous sister was one of the local colorists. The heroine of Norwood is Rose Wentworth, the daughter of a New England doctor. The hero is Barton Cathcart, the son of another New England family. Barton goes to war, is injured, is nursed by Quakers, and finally returns and marries Rose. There is nothing unusual in that; but, Barton has a sister Alice who at the beginning of the war is in love with Tom Heywood, a Southerner. That is one place where Beecher can introduce tolerance. Alice was inclined to feel that Tom was too noble to be led into a war against the Union, but Beecher has Dr. Wentworth explain:

> ". . . The State feeling is stronger than the national. . . . Our friend Heywood is honorable, and will resist disunion; but when he sees it accomplished, he will go with his state, and probably join the Southern army."[35]

Tom does join the Southern army and is killed. Alice

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[35] H. W. Beecher, Norwood (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1892), p. 406.

learns to understand the Southern side of the war and goes south after the war to teach the negroes. Various types of New England people are represented in Norwood. There are educated, uneducated, rich, and poor, but all accept the war as a sacred cause just as the people in Rose Mather did. The men fight, some of the women (the three most important women characters) go to the front to nurse, and the stay-at-homes give all the assistance that they can offer to help preserve the Union.

Norwood interprets the war as a struggle which preserved the Union and, incidentally, freed the slaves, but more than this it interprets the war as a struggle caused by the mistaken South whom the North must generously forgive. Beecher says that at the end of the war:

> [The brave men of the North] in their admiration felt that the heroism of that army was the only worthy measure of the perseverance and bravery of the Army of the Potomac. In every generous bosom rose the thought -- "These are not of another nation, but our citizens." Their mistakes, their evil cause, belonged to the system under which they were reared, but their military skill and heroic bravery belong to the nation, that will never cease to mourn that such valor had not been expended in a better cause; and that the iron pen must write: "The utmost valor misdirected and wasted."[36]

John William DeForest (1826-1906), in Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty (1867), is

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[36] Ibid., p. 450.

not concerned with tolerance as Beecher was, nor does he base his interpretation of the idea that it was right to preserve the Union on religion as Holmes did. He interprets the war as a victory for the cause of liberty. DeForest was the son of a successful merchant and cotton manufacturer. When the war began, he was in Europe. Returning to America immediately, he became the captain of a company which he recruited in New Haven, Connecticut. He served under Generals Weitzel and Banks in the Southwestern states, and under General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. He also held the positions of inspector-general and aide and was brevetted major on March 13, 1865. After the war he received several military assignments, one of which was the command of the Freedman's Bureau, with headquarters at Greenville, South Carolina. His military service, however, did not prevent his doing some literary work, for he wrote some vivid descriptions of battle scenes for Harper's Monthly and in 1867 he published Miss Ravenel. He was mustered out of the service on January 1, 1868.[37]

DeForest's novel is as masculine as Mary Jane Holmes' is feminine. Miss Ravenel is realistic. It has a

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[37] Biographical facts from Dictionary of American Biography.

practical, unemotional tone unusual in novels of this period. Mr. Carl Van Doren, in The American Novel, describes it in the following phrases:

> . . . coldly truthful in its descriptions of battles and camps, crisp and pointed in its dialogue, penetrating, if not over-subtle, in its character analysis, sensible in its plot, and in its general temper alert and sophisticated, it is still almost as convincing as it was once precocious. . . .[38]

The theme of Miss Ravenel is just what the complete title states -- Miss Ravenel's conversion from secession to loyalty. Shortly after the Fort Sumter excitement Dr. Ravenel, a Southerner, who would not be a Rebel, with his daughter, Lillie, moved from New Orleans to New Boston, an imaginary New England city in an imaginary state. Dr. Ravenel did not approve of slavery or of secession, but his daughter did. Miss Ravenel continued to be a rebel for awhile because New Orleans was her home and her friends lived there. However, when Lieutenant Colonel Carter, a Northern officer but a Virginian of "Colonial blue blood" descent and a West Point graduate, and Mr. Edward Colburne, a young Northern soldier and lawyer, became her friends, she was gradually converted. Miss Ravenel married, first, Carter, who is unfaithful to her and is killed in battle; some time afterward she married Colburne whom

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[38] Carl Van Doren, The American Novel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 129.

she and her father had nursed back to health after his service in the army.

The book presents several phases of the life of the period. The Southern social graces represented by the Ravenels and Colonel Carter are contrasted with the seeming stiffness and awkwardness of the New England people. The campaign in the Southwest is described realistically, not heroically. In the scenes of camp life and battles we get a picture of the cowardice and dissoluteness which sometimes occur in high places. Colonel Carter is an unprincipled officer. Colburne, who begins and ends a captain, deserves the promotions which go to a coward who is more important politically. Another phase of the life of the period is seen in Dr. Ravenel's experiment with free negro labor on a New Orleans sugar plantation. The negroes were paid for their services, and Miss Ravenel tried to teach them to read. Dr. Ravenel was pleased with the project, but he had to abandon it when the contending armies came too close.

This novel is realistic, but when it comes to evaluating the war itself, Dr. Ravenel and Colburne, who must be DeForest's spokesmen, give a most extravagant and partisan description of what the North accomplished. Dr. Ravenel and Colburne think that the North has reason to

break out with "national vanity" over Europe's praise of her service for freedom in freeing the slaves, or to sprout peacock tails as expressions of their consciousness of admiration. They think that Europe is right, for they have acted--

> . . . the fifth act in the grand drama of human liberty. First, the Christian revelation. Second, the Protestant reformation. Third, the War of American Independence. Fourth, the French Revolution. Fifth, the struggle for the freedom of all men, without distinction of race and color.[39]

Colburne and Ravenel agree that the North won because "right conquers"; they add that right conquers because "right makes might" and a just system of labor produced power while an unjust system produced weakness. They say that the North, in its righteous living, developed character -- for example, "Lincoln, a purer, wiser, and greater than Socrates, whom he reminds one of by his plain sense and homely humor"; and they say that the Southern character will be improved by the struggle, -- will be sweetened by adversity.[40]

Then, in Miss Ravenel DeForest interprets the war

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[39] J. W. DeForest, Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty (New York: Harper, 1867), pp. 494-495.

[40] Ibid., p. 496.

as a glorious service performed by the North for Freedom, for our country, and for the South.[41]

We have now discussed all the fictional interpretations of the American Civil War which were written before 1880. It may be noticed that these novels were written before 1870. Why are there no other interpretations be-

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[41] It is interesting to compare DeForest's interpretation of the war with that of Ulysses S. Grant:

> There was no time during the rebellion when I did not think, and often say, that the South was more to be benefited by its defeat than the North. The latter had the people, the institutions, and the territory to make a great and prosperous nation. The former was burdened with an institution abhorrent to all civilized people not brought up under it, and one which degraded labor, kept it in ignorance, and enervated the governing class. With the outside world at war with this institution, they could not have extended their territory. The labor of the country was not skilled, nor allowed to become so. The Whites could not toil without becoming degraded, and those who did were denominated "poor white trash." The system of labor would have soon exhausted the soil and left the people poor. The non-slaveholder must have sold out to his more fortunate neighbor. Soon the slaves would have outnumbered the masters, and, not being in sympathy with them, would have risen in their might and exterminated them. The war was expensive to the South as well as to the North, both in blood and treasure, but it was worth all it cost. -- Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant (New York: C. L. Webster and Company, 1885-1886), II, pp. 39-40.

tween 1861 and 1879? Wasn't the country writing about the war? Yes, there was much more war fiction than just these eleven novels,[41] but as far as I have been able to find out these are the only interpretations. After the war there was a widespread desire to forget the years of suffering. Editors did not encourage Civil War stories. Instead they wanted local color stories which led to a better understanding between the hostile halves of the nation. That is what the authors of fiction began to write.[42] So, for the interpretations of the war in this period we must turn to eleven novels, written before 1870.

While most of the features of this fiction belong strictly to the period in which it was written, a few of its innovations became conventional patterns in later fiction. They are: (1) the sharp distinction between Northerners and Southerners found generally throughout all these novels, (2) the use of intersectional marriage found in Miss Ravenel, and (3) the Lincoln legend, the picture of Lincoln as a kindly patriarch dispensing succor to all who ask, found for the first time in Norwood. We must

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[41] Miss Smith's Dictionary Catalog shows an almost continuous flow of Civil War fiction.

[42] P. H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), p. 5.

wait, however, for twenty years before we find them in fictional interpretations of the war. The next period, from 1880 to 1899, is a period of short stories dealing with individual psychology and having very little to say about the sectional nature of the conflict.

CHAPTER II

PSYCHOLOGICAL: REALISM AND SENTIMENTALISM

1880-1899

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1880-1899

For the years from 1880 to 1899 I have found over two hundred books of fiction dealing with the American Civil War. They include love romances, adventure stories, local color stories, juveniles, and stories dealing with themes merely related to the war. In the first decade of this period, as in the eighteen-seventies, editors and publishers were encouraging fiction which promoted reconciliation between the hostile halves of the nation in preference to fiction which interpreted the war. I have found only eleven interpretations written during these twenty years. They include two novels and numerous short stories by Northern authors, and two volumes of short stories by Southern authors. Unlike the interpretations of the 'sixties which have been almost completely forgotten, some of this fiction has come to rank with the best American literature. The most outstanding are Stephen Crane's novel, The Red Badge of Courage (1895), and Ambrose Bierce's short stories, Tales of Soldiers and Civilians (1891) (later changed to In the Midst of Life) and Can Such Things Be? (1893). The other Northern inter-

pretations include a novel, In War Time (1884), by Silas Weir Mitchell; one short story, "The Return of a Private" (1891), by Hamlin Garland; three volumes of short stories, The Copperhead (1893), Marsena (1894), and The Deserter (1898), by Harold Frederic; and one volume of short stories, Little Regiment and Other Episodes in the American Civil War (1896), by Stephen Crane. The Southern interpretations, not so numerous and not so well known, include The Burial of the Guns and Other Stories (1894) by Thomas Nelson Page and Southern Soldier Stories (1898) by George Cary Eggleston.

In contrast with the early partisan interpretations of the American Civil War, the fictional interpretations between 1880 and 1899 are primarily realistic, psychological analyses of war experiences. They do not mirror the whole scene of the war, but give, usually in short story form, flashlight views of unrelated parts of the scene. The Southern stories are about Southerners and the Northern ones about Northerners, but the sectional reference is merely incidental. There is no bitterness. The attitude toward the war, especially in the Northern stories, is decidedly unromantic, although the stories may be humorous, weird, pathetic, or tragic. Further than this it is hard to characterize the interpretation of the war in this

period. Each flashlight view of the war seems to say, "War was this." In this fiction war is many things, and we are left to examine the fiction itself. We shall take, first, the two novels, which are Northern, then the Northern short stories, and last, the Southern short stories.

In War Time (1884) by Silas Weir Mitchell is a novel which interprets the war chiefly through a psychological analysis of one individual. Mitchell (1829-1913), a native of Pennsylvania, was well-equipped to write such an interpretation. In addition to his literary activities he was one of the most eminent of medical specialists, particularly in nervous diseases.[1] This special knowledge enabled him to write authoritatively of difficult and wayward states of body and mind. For three years during the war he served as army surgeon in the Filbert Street Hospital in Philadelphia, the hospital which he describes in In War Time. Mitchell also had first-hand experience

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[1] On the advice of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mitchell early set aside his literary ambitions until he should have established himself in a profession. Only after Mitchell was fifty years old did he give much time to verse or fiction, which he produced from that time with no diminution of power until the very year of his death. -- Carl Van Doren in Cambridge History of American Literature III, 90.

for the part of his story which takes place in Europe. In 1864 his health broke and he went to France and England for a rest. There, as he records in his novel, he found sympathy decidedly with the South.

In War Time (1884) has been called "one of the best novels about the Civil War in American fiction before 1899."[2] The story takes place chiefly in Philadelphia. It begins in July, 1863, and ends after the close of the war. The hero is an army surgeon, but according to one of Mitchell's biographers this doctor is just exactly what Dr. Mitchell was not.[3] The theme of the novel is the defeat of the surgeon, Ezra Wendell, through weakness in his own character. Before the story begins, he has fled from the battlefield in fear for his own life, instead of caring for the wounded. He conceals this guilt and tries, or rather his sister attempts to make him try, to serve well in the army hospital and in the community. However, he is negligent and late with his duties. Finally, through carelessness in prescribing medicine, he kills the invalid son of a family who has befriended him. Again he

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[2] Rebecca Washington Smith, "The Civil War and Its Aftermath in American Fiction," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1932), p. 36.

[3] Anna Robeson Burr, Weir Mitchell (New York: Duffield & Company, 1929), p. 114.

is too weak to confess his guilt. Fearing that he will lose an attractive widow whom he wishes to marry, Ezra Wendell lets the family think that the boy's brother has made the mistake. Wendell pretends to be cooperating with the family in concealing the brother's mistake from the brother. One deception leads to another until when the widow finally learns the truth she does not marry Ezra. Ezra's health breaks and he goes west with his sister.

The family who befriends Ezra, the Mortons, are aristocratic descendents of an old Quaker family. Major Morton is wounded in the battle of Gettysburg on Cemetery Hill and is brought to the Filbert Street Hospital at the beginning of the story. A Confederate aristocrat, a Captain Gray, is wounded in the same battle and is also brought to the hospital. Major Morton and Captain Gray happen to be put into adjoining beds. Captain Gray is fatally wounded, and in his delirium he accuses Major Morton of firing the bullet which struck him. At his death Captain Gray leaves a beautiful and charming daughter an orphan. This daughter, Hester Gray, is taken in by Ezra and his sister, and her expenses are paid by the Mortons. A cousin Henry turns up later and repays both families. After the war Hester marries Arthur Morton who had become a captain in the Union Army.

There is a balance of sympathy for the two sections preserved throughout the novel. Wherever the issues cannot be completely ignored, both sides are impartially represented. A Southern girl marries a Northern man. The Northern Mortons go to Europe during the war, as the author really had done, and there they find sympathy decidedly with the South.

Mitchell interprets the war as it affected the individual lives of certain people. There is no real discussion of sectional issues. The theme of his novel is psychological analysis; the development of his theme is frank and realistic. Mitchell's psychological realism is implied, however, rather than expressed. Mitchell shows the effect that Ezra's mistakes have on his life, but Mitchell does not tell us what Ezra thinks about or what mental and emotional struggles he goes through. This novel is different from the earlier ones, for in them, if people are defeated, it is because of their partisan beliefs, not because of their characters. Yet, In War Time (1884) is also different from the later fiction in this period. Writers like Garland, Bierce, and Crane carry psychological realism still further by tracing the mental and emotional experiences as well as their results. This is strikingly evident in Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of

Courage (1895), which is the most famous interpretation of the war in this period.

Stephen Crane (1871-1900) knew the war only at second-hand.[4] Mr. Max J. Herzberg gives an explanation of how Crane happened to write The Red Badge of Courage.[5] Even as a child Crane seems to have been deeply interested in the Civil War and he received from veterans unconventional opinions and from his older brother William accurate information on the strategy of the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Later, Mr. Herzberg continues, Crane read eagerly both fiction and fact about the Civil War and made the remark concerning some articles appearing in the Century Magazine, "These articles tell a lot about what the fellows did, but not a thing about what they felt!" "Not long afterwards," Mr. Herzberg points out, "Crane wrote The Red Badge of Courage, which more

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[4] Crane was born on November 1, 1871, in Newark, New Jersey, the fourteenth and ninth living child of Reverend Jonathan Townley Crane and Mary Peck. He was born in the Methodist parsonage and named for a New Jersey ancestor who signed the Declaration of Independence. His college education stopped after his mother's death in 1890 and he became a struggling writer in New York where he was often actually hungry and sometimes ill. Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928).

[5] Max J. Herzberg, "Introduction" to Stephen Crane, The Red Badge of Courage (New York: D. Appleton and Company, c. 1926).

than any other war story ever published, does tell what soldiers actually feel . . ."

The Red Badge of Courage was well received. Mr. Herzberg says that, after Hamlin Garland and William Dean Howells had praised it warmly, Crane took it to Irving Bacheller who published it in serial form. While it was still running in this newspaper form, it was accepted by D. Appleton and Company for publication in book form and appeared on October 3, 1895. It was hailed as a masterpiece on both sides of the Atlantic and has since that date won an undisputed position as one of the most notable of all novels published in America.[6]

After writing The Red Badge of Courage (1895), Crane later became a war correspondent and traveled to many parts of the world. Although Crane had had no actual war experience when he wrote The Red Badge of Courage,[7] he

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[6] Herzberg, loc. cit.

[7] Crane fought in the Spanish-American War and was mentioned in American dispatches for gallantry under fire. Crane died on June 5, 1900, at the age of twenty-eight. He died of consumption which began when his health was undermined by the exposure and hardship he endured while on a filibustering expedition shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. During the last few years of his life he lived in England. He married and won a large circle of friends, among the most intimate of whom was Joseph Conrad. Crane wrote novels, short stories and sketches, and verse. -- Max J. Herzberg, loc. cit.

later became a war correspondent, traveled to many parts of the world, and took part in actual service. When Joseph Conrad, an intimate friend of Crane's for a few years, reminded Crane that he had seen no war before he went to Greece, Crane made answer: "No. But the 'Red Badge' is all right."[8] Crane's experience in warfare merely confirmed what his intuition had already told him as to how men act in battle.

The Red Badge of Courage is a narrative of only one Civil War Battle, the battle of Chancellorsville, but the narrative concerns itself with the thoughts, feelings, and actions of one young Northern soldier. The one character, Henry Fleming, carries the story, and through him Stephen Crane gives his own interpretation of the Civil War. The causes and effects of that particular war are not treated; it could be any war. The story gives a picture of army life and of the effect of war on an individual soldier. It is a realistic picture which does not give to war any imaginary glamour. Crane's interpretation of war is revealed in a summary of the story.

The story opens with a scene in an army camp. The

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[8] Joseph Conrad, "Introduction" to Thomas Beer's Stephen Crane (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1927), p. 11.

young soldier, Henry Fleming, along with other soldiers in the camp were told by a comrade that the regiment was about to go into battle. Henry had difficulty in making himself believe that he was really going to see an actual battle. He thought about his enlistment and departure from home. Only his mother's advice, warnings, and actions had somewhat spoiled his rose-colored dreams of glorious heroism. She had said "nothing whatever about returning with his shield or on it."[9] Lying on his cot the night before the rumored battle he tries to prove to himself that he will not run from the battle. A kind of panic-fear grows in his mind. He attempts to get from another soldier a confession of similar fear, and is a little reassured when he discovers that his companion has had similar thoughts. All during the marches and during the nights preceding his first fighting fear grows in his mind -- "Will he run from the battle? Is he the only one who has such fears? Is everyone else a brave hero?" Delays strain his nerves almost to the breaking point. At the sight of the enemy he is terrified by the fear that he has not loaded his gun, but he has. He fires wildly, and then begins to work automatically. The succession of his feelings is some-

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[9] Stephen Crane, The Red Badge of Courage (New York: D. Appleton and Company, c. 1926), p. 8.

thing like this -- a consciousness of teamwork, a realization of physical discomfort, an angry rage against the smoke, a wonder that relief is not sent, a recognition of the absence of heroic poses among the soldiers, and then, when the soldiers mistake a lull for the end of the battle, a feeling of self-satisfaction. But the battle is not over, and discovering that, he runs away. People who stay are fools, he tells himself; and when he learns that the army has won, he feels ill-used. He takes refuge with the wounded and wishes that he too had "a red badge of courage." He debates whether to wish for defeat or victory for the army. Defeat, it seems, would vindicate his actions. Then after having been struck on the head by a deserter, he returns to his regiment and lets them believe that the wound has been caused by a bullet. Courage replaces his fears. He looks with scorn on others who ran away. In the next battle he fights coolly, thoughtfully, fully conscious of his acts. The lieutenant calls to him, "By heaven, if I had ten thousand wild cats like you I could tear the stomach outa this war in less'n a week."[10] Later Henry rescues the flag when the color bearer is wounded and is again commended. As color bearer he leads a charge. Fi-

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[10] Ibid., p. 168.

nally he is able to review his deeds and to decide that he is a man.[11] His rose-colored dreams of war are gone, and his panic-like fear of war is gone. He has been through the war and now he hopes for peace.

In Crane's interpretation of the war there is both psychological realism and a disillusioned attitude toward war. Note Crane's analysis of Henry Fleming's mental state in this passage:

> Presently he began to feel the effects of the war atmosphere -- a blistering sweat, a sensation that his eyeballs were about to crack like hot stones. A burning roar filled his ears.
>
> Following this came a red rage. He developed the acute exasperation of a pestered animal, a well-meaning cow worried by dogs. He had a mad feeling against his rifle, which could only be used against one life at a time. He wished to rush forward and strangle with his fingers. He craved a power that would enable him to make a world-sweeping gesture and brush all back. His impotency appeared to him, and made his rage into that of a driven beast.
>
> Buried in the smoke of many rifles his anger was directed not so much against the men whom he knew were rushing toward him as against the swirling battle phantoms which were choking him, stuffing their smoke down his parched throat . . .[12]

A decidedly unromantic view of the war is given in the description of an incident which occurred some time between Henry Fleming's running away and his return when he

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[11] Ibid., p. 232.

[12] Ibid., p. 57.

follows a wounded friend and tries to help him:

"Gawd! Jim Conklin!"

The tall soldier made a little commonplace smile. "Hello, Henry," he said.

The youth swayed on his legs and glared strangely. He muttered and stammered. "Oh, Jim -- oh, Jim -- oh, Jim --"

The tall soldier held out his gory hand . . .

Suddenly, as the two friends marched on, the tall soldier seemed to be overcome by a terror . . .

"I tell yeh what I'm 'fraid of, Henry . . . I'm 'fraid I'll fall down -- an' then yeh know -- them damned artillery wagons -- they like as not'll run over me . . ."

The youth cried out to him hysterically: "I'll take care of yeh, Jim! . . . I swear t' Gawd I will!"

. . . . . .

Finally the chest of the doomed soldier began to heave with a strained motion. It increased in violence until it was as if an animal was within and was kicking and tumbling furiously to be free.

This spectacle of gradual strangulation made the youth writhe, . . .

His tall figure [the wounded soldier's] stretched itself to its full height. There was a slight rending sound. Then it began to swing forward, slow and straight, in the manner of a falling tree. A swift muscular contortion made the left shoulder strike the ground first.

The body seemed to bounce a little from the earth. "God!" said the tattered soldier [a soldier the boy was with when he met the wounded man] .

The youth had watched, spellbound, this ceremony at the place of meeting. His face had been twisted into

an expression of every agony he had imagined for his friend.

. . . he could see that the side looked as if it had been chewed by wolves.

The youth turned, with sudden, livid rage, toward the battlefield. He shook his fist. He seemed about to deliver a philippic.

"Hell"[13]

Between the beginning of the novel and the end Henry is completely disillusioned concerning war. The progress of the disillusionment is indicated, for example, by these three passages:

The youth was in a little trance of astonishment. So they were at last going to fight. On the morrow, perhaps, there would be a battle, and he would be in it. For a time he was obliged to labor to make himself believe. He could not accept with assurance an omen that he was about to mingle in one of these great affairs of the earth.

He had, of course, dreamed of battles all his life -- of vague and bloody conflicts that had thrilled him with their sweep and fire. . . .[14]

. . . Many of the men were making low-toned noises with their mouths, and these subdued cheers, snarls, imprecations, prayers, made a wild barbaric song that went as an undercurrent of sound, strange and chant-like with the resounding chords of the war march . . .

There was a singular absence of heroic poses. The men bending and surging in their haste and rage were in every impossible attitude. . . .

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[13] Ibid., pp. 92-99.

[14] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

> The officers, at their intervals, rearward, neglected to stand in picturesque attitudes . . .[15]
>
> . . . as he reviewed the battle pictures he had seen, he felt quite competent to return home and make the hearts of the people glow with stories of war . . .
>
> . . . And he imagined the consternation and the ejaculations of his mother and the young lady at the seminary as they drank his recitals. Their vague feminine formula for beloved ones doing brave deeds on the field of battle without risk of life would be destroyed.[16]

The Northern short stories resemble Crane's novel in their psychological realism and in their unromantic, disillusioned attitude toward the war. Since Crane's volume of short stories, The Little Regiment and Other Episodes in the American Civil War (1896), adds nothing to Crane's interpretation of the war, it will not be included in this discussion.[17]

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[15] Ibid., p. 59.

[16] Ibid., p. 153.

[17] The Little Regiment and Other Episodes in the American Civil War contains six stories. The title story is a character sketch of two brothers who know no suitable way of expressing their affection for each other. When together they miss no opportunities to say mean, biting things to each other. Their most civil exchange of words occurs when they are reunited after one, who has been listed as missing, returns to camp and after the other has moped over his lost brother for days. That greeting is a bare "hello." "Three Miraculous Soldiers" seems to say that Southerners did not really hate Northerners. A Confederate girl does all that she can to save Confederate soldiers from the Federal soldiers, but, although to all appearances she hates Federals, she does not wish the

Hamlin Garland (1860-), in one short story, gives us an unromantic and psychologically realistic interpretation of the war as it affected a Northern farmer-soldier. "The Return of a Private" (1891)[18] is the only war story which Mr. Garland wrote.

Hamlin Garland, who was born on September 16, 1860, at West Salem, Wisconsin, used autobiographical material

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Federals any harm. She weeps over a dead Federal soldier just as she might have been expected to do over a soldier on her own side. A soldier remarks, "War changes many things; but it doesn't change everything, thank God!" "A Mystery of Heroism" tells of a soldier who risks his life to get a bucket of water for his fellow soldiers. He seems to secure the water, give some to a dying soldier, and return to his comrades, but evidently it was mental delusion on the hero's part, caused by his desire to do something heroic, for when he reaches his comrades the bucket is empty. "An Indiana Campaign" is a humorous character sketch of an old man who assumes the burden of all the village cares because the younger men are at war. The particular incident related in this story is a ridiculous search for a neighbor's chickens which are believed to have been stolen by soldiers. "A Gray Sleeve" tells of a Federal officer who starts to search a house for Confederate soldiers because he sees a gray sleeve in the window but who instead falls in love with the girl who opens the door and does not molest her brother and grandfather. In "The Veteran" the central character is a grandfather called Mr. Fleming, possibly Henry Fleming of The Red Badge of Courage more than twenty years later. The veteran shakes his grandson's faith in his grandfather's bravery by confessing that he ran away from his first battle. An hour or so later Mr. Fleming redeems himself and loses his life by rushing into a burning barn in an unsuccessful effort to rescue some colts.

[18] Hamlin Garland, "The Return of a Private" in Main Travelled Roads (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930).

in this story. Incidentally his autobiographical treatment of the incident in A Son of the Middle Border[19] is shorter and more effective than the fictional treatment in Main Travelled Roads (1890), although the facts are the same. Mr. Garland's father was the private who returned to the Wisconsin farm. His father and mother came originally from Oxford County, Maine. Mr. Garland's literary life began in 1884 when he went to Boston, but he wrote about the Middle West which he knew at first hand.[20]

"The Return of a Private" tells how a Northern private wearily returns to his neglected farm at the end of the war. He has more than the usual amount of work to do and far less than his normal strength to do it with. So changed is he by the years of war that his wife and children, who have gone to visit a neighbor to break the monotony of the weary days of waiting for the private's return, do not recognize him when he passes the neighbor's house, almost dragging himself along the road.

This interpretation of the war certainly omits all trace of the North's "glorious" victory.

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[19] Hamlin Garland, A Son of the Middle Border (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

[20] Biographical facts from: Dilly Tante, editor, Living Authors (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1931).

A still more bitter interpretation of the war is found in Tales of Soldiers and Civilians (1891) and Can Such Things Be? (1893), two collections of short stories by Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914). Bierce wrote his war stories long after the war, but he had first-hand experience to record for he served in the Northern army throughout the entire period of the war.[21] In 1861, Bierce, who was

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[21] Silas Weir Mitchell and Ambrose Bierce are the only two Northern authors in this period who did have first hand war experience. A full account of Ambrose Bierce's Civil War experiences may be found in Napier Wilt's article "Ambrose Bierce and the Civil War." The purpose of Mr. Wilt's article is threefold: (1) to trace Bierce's actual war experiences, (2) to examine his autobiographical sketches in the light of the official records and of histories and memoirs of related events, and (3) to determine how much Bierce wrote from memory and how much he took from the writings of others. Mr. Wilt traces the moves of the Ninth Indiana Infantry of which Bierce was a member, lists the battles in which Bierce fought (among them Philippi, Shiloh, Perryville, and Stone River), notes the time that Bierce was away from the regiment in a hospital, and points out that Bierce served as topographical engineer. At the end of the war, Mr. Wilt has discovered, Bierce should have been made "Brevet Captain" instead of "Brevet Major." It was a clerical mistake. In 1867 Congress authorized the War Department to promote all men who had distinguished themselves in the service to the rank above that they held at the close of the war. About 6,200 were honored, and the clerk made a mistake in writing "Brevet Major" beside Bierce's name. With regard to the second and third of Mr. Wilt's aims, Mr. Wilt found that Bierce used both his memory and the writings of others and that his use of the first personal pronoun is not evidence that Bierce himself did the thing related. -- American Literature, 1:260-285.

born in Meiggs County, Ohio, in 1842, the youngest child of poor and obscure farming folk, was nineteen years old and was employed as a printer in Warsaw, Indiana. He volunteered as a private and became a member of the Ninth Indiana Infantry and served with distinction through many of the most difficult campaigns of the western armies. Twice he risked his life rescuing wounded companions; and twice he himself was wounded, once slightly in the heel, and once, at Kenesaw Mountain, seriously, in the head. The war ended, he was brevetted Major for distinguished services by especial act of Congress. He then became custodian of "captured and abandoned" property at Selma, Alabama, resigning in 1866 to accompany General W. B. Hazen on an inspection tour of the northwestern army posts.

Although Tales of Soldiers and Civilians (1891) was Bierce's first published collection of war stories, Bierce was by no means a new and unknown writer in 1891. When his army duties were completed, he joined his brother Albert in San Francisco and, while working with him in the Mint, contributed paragraphs to several weeklies. In a period of very bitter personal journalism his caustic wit and courage brought him recognition and the editorship of one of the weeklies, the News Letter. During the rest of

his life he was employed in journalistic work in California, England and Washington, D. C. With only one brief absence he lived in California from 1876, when he returned from London, until 1896, when he went to Washington. It was during these years that he wrote his Civil War stories and did practically all the work on which his fame was to rest. In 1913 Bierce went to Mexico on the staff of the insurgent Villa and is supposed to have been killed. He had expressed a desire to be slain in war. There are several stories about his death, none of which has been proved with certainty.

Bierce gave the American Civil War literary interpretation because it provided him with grim and extraordinary events he liked to record. A satirist, he satirizes war, rather than man, in his stories. Accurate, psychological analysis, or psychological realism, characterizes his work. So tart was Bierce's realism that Tales of Soldiers and Civilians was not readily accepted by either publishers or readers.[22]

The themes of the fifteen war stories in Tales of Soldiers and Civilians are tragedies experienced by indi-

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[22] Biographical facts from Dictionary of American Biography and from C. Hartley Grattan, Bitter Bierce (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1929).

vidual Federal soldiers. These tragedies end in the death of the central character or in the death of his loved ones or in the deaths of both. In each case the cause of the tragedy is outside the hero himself. The heroes, with the exception of a deaf-mute child, are strong men overcome by fate. The settings of the stories include Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. The characters are mostly Federal soldiers.

Bierce wrote twenty-one war stories in all, the fifteen already mentioned and six in Can Such Things Be?. Three stories use the divided family theme. Soldiers in the Federal army doing their duty as they see it, fire on close relatives in the Confederate Army.[23] Five stories are psychological analyses of certain mental states: a soldier's thoughts before his execution,[24] the effects of fear,[25] and a captain's reaction to his first battle.[26] One story presents a realistic picture of the wounded soldiers just after a battle, a picture emphasized by being

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[23] "A Horseman in the Sky," "The Affair at Coulter's Notch," and "The Mocking-Bird."

[24] "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge."

[25] "One of the Missing," "Parker Addison, Philosopher," and "George Thruston."

[26] "One Officer, One Man."

presented from a deaf-mute child's point of view.[27] One story seems to say that war has no respect and no reward for even the greatest courage. A "son of the gods" was killed, just as any other soldier might have been, in securing necessary information for his army.[28] The tragedy in two stories was caused by woman's weakness or stupidity -- a girl, who did not want her sweetheart to crouch behind a tree in a battle,[29] and an unfaithful wife.[30] Both sent fine men to their death. The tragedies of three stories were caused by freak twists which fate gave to relationships among soldiers, relationships involving such common emotions as devoted love between friends, jealousy, anger, and resentment.[31] These are the fifteen stories of Tales of Soldiers and Civilians. The six in Can Such Things Be? are not as tragic. They usually end in the death of the hero, it is true, but the cause is in the hero's own mental state or in supernatural or unexplained agents. These stories are more weird than

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[27] "Chickamauga."

[28] "A Son of the Gods."

[29] "Killed at Resaca."

[30] "An Affair of Outposts."

[31] "The Coup de Grace," "The Story of a Conscience," and "One Kind of Officer."

tragic or horrible. For example, in "A Tough Tussle" a second-lieutenant is killed by a dead Confederate soldier. Alone at night in a forest, the Federal officer becomes so convinced that the corpse has moved that he fights with it and is himself found dead with his own sword through his breast.

Bierce interprets the war from a disillusioned, unromantic, bitter point of view. A quotation from "An Affair of Outposts" states definitely a civilian's disillusionment. The civilian in the story is a governor of a Northern state:

> In all this was none of the pomp of war -- no hint of glory. Even in his distress and peril the helpless civilian could not forbear to contrast it with the gorgeous parades and reviews held in honor of himself -- with the brilliant uniforms, the music, the banners, and the marching. It was an ugly and sickening business: to all that was artistic in his nature, revolting, brutal, in bad taste.
>
> "Ugh!" he grunted, shuddering -- "this is beastly! Where is the charm of it all? Where are the elevated sentiments, the devotion, the heroism, the . . ."
>
> From a point somewhere near, in the direction of the pursuing enemy, rose the clear, deliberate singsong of Captain Armisted.
>
> "Stead-y, men -- stead-y. Halt! Commence firing."
>
> The rattle of fewer than a score of rifles could be distinguished through the general uproar, and that penetrating falsetto:
>
> "Cease fir-ing! In re-treat -- maaarch!"[32]

Let us analyze one story more fully. Any one would do, but "Chickamauga" contains particularly unpleasant realism. In "Chickamauga" a deaf-mute child, armed with his wooden sword, wanders away from home and is lost in a forest. Finally, worn out with wandering, he falls asleep. On awaking he sees hundreds of men creeping, crawling, staggering toward the creek. Their faces, streaked and spotted with red, make him think of circus clowns. Somehow, confusing their movements with his father's negroes' movements when playing horse with him, the child mounts and sits astride one man:

> . . . who sank to his breast, recovered, flung the small boy fiercely to the ground . . . , then turned upon him a face that lacked a lower jaw -- from the upper teeth to the throat was a great red gap fringed with hanging shreds of flesh and splinters of bone. . . . The man rose to his knees, the child to his feet. The man shook his fist at the child; the child, terrified at last, ran to a tree near by, got upon the farther side of it and took a more serious view of the situation. . . .[33]

Though the child does not realize it, a battle was fought, almost beside him, while he slept. Now he notices a light across the creek. Crossing the stream on stones, he goes toward it.

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[32] Ambrose Bierce, In the Midst of Life (New York: Putnam, 1927), pp. 157-158.

[33] Ibid., p. 52.

> Shifting his position, his eyes fell upon some outbuildings which had an oddly familiar appearance, as if he had dreamed of them. He stood considering them with wonder when suddenly the entire plantation, with its inclosing forest seemed to turn as if upon a pivot. His little world swung half round; the points of the compass were reversed. He recognized the blazing building as his own home.
>
> For a moment he stood stupefied by the power of the revelation, then ran with stumbling feet, making a half circuit of the ruin. There, conspicuous in the light of the conflagration, lay the dead body of a woman -- the white face turned upward, the hands thrown out and clutched full of grass, the clothing deranged, the long dark hair in tangles and full of clotted blood. The greater part of the forehead was torn away, and from the jagged hole the brain protruded, overflowing the temple, a frothy mass of gray, crowned with clusters of crimson bubbles -- the work of a shell.
>
> The child moved his little hands, making wild, uncertain gestures. He uttered a series of inarticulate and indescribable cries -- something between the chattering of an ape and the gobbling sound of a turkey -- a startling, soulless, unholy sound, the language of a devil. The child was a deaf-mute.
>
> Then he stood motionless, with quivering lips, looking down upon the wreck.[34]

In contrast to Bierce's use of psychological realism in presenting horrible incidents, we have Harold Frederic's use of it in telling stories which, at least, end pleasantly. Bierce's interpretations of the Civil War were published in 1891 and 1893. Harold Frederic published his volumes of short stories dealing with the war in 1893,

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[34] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

1894, and 1898. Being fourteen years younger than Bierce, Frederic had no actual battleground experience to record. Only two of his seven stories, "A Day in the Wilderness" and "The Deserter," deal with army life and fighting. The other five interpret the war as it was experienced by stay-at-homes in New York State. Although very young, Frederic knew that life at first hand.

Harold Frederic (1856-1898) was born in Utica, New York, on August 19, 1898, of Dutch, French, and New England ancestry. His ancestors were among the early settlers of the Mohawk Valley. When Harold Frederic was eighteen months old, his father was killed in a railroad accident. To support her family Mrs. Frederic kept a dairy. As soon as Harold was old enough, he got up at four o'clock in the morning and delivered milk before school. The children at school made fun of his milk stained clothes. Later he became a retoucher of photographic negatives, but the eye-strain was too great. One of his stories, "Marsena," has a photographer as the central character. At the age of twenty he became a reporter on the Utica Observer. Eight years later, in 1884, he became the London correspondent of the New York Times and spent the rest of his short life in Europe. He died in 1898. His Civil War stories must have been written in

Europe, but they were published in New York.[35]

In 1893 Frederic published The Copperhead and Other Stories of the North during the Civil War. In 1894 he published Marsena and Other Stories of the Wartime. All these stories were brought together in 1897, and published by C. Scribner's Sons under the title of In the 'Sixties. The stories are: "The Copperhead," "Marsena," "The War Widow," "The Eve of the Fourth," and "My Aunt Susan." These stories are psychological studies of emotional problems of stay-at-homes. The underlying causes of the situations Frederic describes are, in contrast to Bierce's stories, in the characters of the people in the stories; but the abnormal tension of wartimes exaggerated each person's selfishness, narrowness, enviousness, or kindness into violent loves and hatreds. The characters in all the stories belong to the farmer class, the working class, or the well-to-do village class of New York State. Harold Frederic wrote two other Civil War stories which concern soldiers, "The Deserter" and "A Day in the Wilderness." These two stories were published in 1898 in a volume called The Deserter and Other Stories. I shall analyze "The Copperhead," because it is the most serious interpretation

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[35] Biographical facts from The Dictionary of American Biography.

of the war among his earlier stories, and these two later stories, because they are better interpretations than the earlier ones.

"The Copperhead" is a "sketch of the animosities and violent revenges that characterized the life of a stay-at-home people during the Civil War."[36] Abner Beech, the central character in "The Copperhead," has read more books than any other farmer in the neighborhood and can discuss them, but he knows absolutely nothing about the wisdom of keeping the good will of his neighbors. Beginning with lightning rods and ending with hatred of abolitionists, he slowly lets one thing after another cut himself and his family off from all relations and dealings with his neighbors. His son, however, regardless of his father's opinions, falls in love with the daughter of Abner's chief rival and enlists in the Union Army. Abner lets the bitter feeling against himself increase still more. Finally, when the election comes and the Abolitionists are beaten in this Congressional district, feeling runs so high that a mob of neighbors come to torment Abner and end by burning his house to the ground. The next morning, through the efforts of his son's sweetheart, peace and good will

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[36] Ernest Albert Baker, Guide to Historical Fiction (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904).

are re-established between Abner and the neighborhood.

The theme of "The Deserter" is that it is not always a disgrace to be a deserter. Mose Whipple, the deserter, saves his father's life by coming home. He asks for a furlough, but is refused by a Dutchman in authority who has a grudge against him. Mose went to war in July, 1863, as a substitute for Elisha Teachout, a rheumatic, grouchy, stingy owner of a dairy farm. Mose and his father, Asa, owe Teachout something over $300 in accrued interest on mortgages which he holds, and for that reason Mose went as his substitute. Teachout promised to look after Asa, but he does not do it. Mose comes home the last week in 1863 and finds his father almost dead from starvation. When Asa realizes that Mose has deserted, he strongly disapproves and urges Mose to return. He thinks "deserter" the meanest word that can be applied to a man. He stops urging Mose to return, however, when he learns that the penalty for desertion is death. The deputy marshal who is sent for Mose feels that Mose was justified in coming home and he lets Mose escape. Later Mose starts back, and the deputy marshal takes him to his father instead of to war. In the spring of 1864 Teachout forecloses, and Asa and Mose go to the woods to live. The story leaves them there contented.

The theme of "A Day in the Wilderness" is just what the title states. It tells the experiences of a drummer boy on the second day of the Battle of the Wilderness. He talks with a German flute player, fights with a bounty jumper who has quite a collection of stolen articles, and finally rescues from a forest fire an officer who proves to be his cousin. The following quotation gives an idea of the impression of war which the story creates:

> It was the morning of the second day of the Battle of the Wilderness. The men of Boyce's brigade knew only vaguely, by hearsay, of what had happened on that terrible yesterday. They themselves, forming the rear-guard of the great army, had been nearly the last to cross the Rapidan on the swinging pontoon bridge of Germania Ford. They had had a night's forced march; a two hours' nap in the open starlight; a hasty bite of rations at half-past-three in the morning, and now this plunge in the chilly twilight of sunrise down into the unknown.[37]

Like all other authors who interpret the war in this period Frederic shows how individuals were affected. There is psychological realism in all his stories. "The Deserter" shows a marked disillusionment about war when the life of a boy's father is placed above the cause he was fighting for. Among the Southern stories are those of Thomas Nelson Page and George Cary Eggleston. There are no thoroughly disillusioned, unromantic pictures of war

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[37] Harold Frederic, The Deserter and Other Stories (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1898), p. 149.

like Crane's and Bierce's, probably because the South was not so thoroughly disillusioned concerning the war as the North was over its "victory." Psychological realism is present in the interpretations of Page and Eggleston, although it is not so prominent as it is in the interpretations written by Northerners. There is no great distinction between Frederic's stories and the Southern interpretations by Page and Eggleston, but between Bierce's stories and the Southern stories there is a wide gap. Page and Eggleston interpret the war mildly in their close-up views of the wartime experiences of various people at given times.

Thomas Nelson Page (1853-1922), who was born on a Virginia plantation, the son of a distinguished family, heard many stories about the golden times "before the war," and he will be remembered as a writer of local color stories which exploited the glories of the antebellum South.[38] However, in the 1890's when the war was being interpreted as individual human experience, with the interest in the individual, Page published The Burial of the Guns and Other Stories (1894), a volume containing three stories which interpret the war in the spirit of the time.

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[38] Biographical facts from Dictionary of American Biography.

The title story tells of the love of several Confederate soldiers for six guns which they have named Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, The Eagle, and The Cat. At the end of the war, in the midst of their grief over the South's final surrender, the soldiers hold a ceremony, "the burial of the guns," in which they roll the guns over a cliff.

"The Gray Jacket of 'No. 4'" is another war story. "No. 4," a war veteran and a hopeless drunkard, had been a brave soldier, and he prizes his gray jacket above everything else. Finally, however, he pawns it for the drink that kills him. A friend redeems the jacket and has "No. 4" buried in it.

The third war story is called "Little Darby." Little Darby, a Confederate soldier, and his sweetheart prevent the Federal soldiers from raiding their community, a community of poor whites, by burning a bridge.

What interpretation of the war is there is these three stories? There is no bitterness toward anyone. The stories simply tell us what the war meant to certain individuals at given times. The Confederate soldiers at the end of the war sentimentally loved the defeated guns which had fought so well for them. After the war "No. 4" cherished his gray jacket because it reminded him of the war-

times when he had been a better man. Little Darby and his sweetheart had a chance to do an heroic deed because of the war. In all three stories Page interprets the war sentimentally, just as he interpreted the Old South in his local color tales. The individual experiences which he records are pleasant.

A fuller interpretation of the war from a Southerner's point of view is found in Southern Soldier Stories (1898) by George Cary Eggleston. Eggleston's 251-page volume contains forty-seven very short stories.

Page bases his interpretation of the war chiefly on hearsay, but Eggleston had first-hand experience to record. Born on November 26, 1839, Eggleston was twenty-one years old when the war began, and, although born in Vevay, Indiana, he was a Virginia gentleman in 1861. At the age of seventeen he had inherited his family's plantation in Amelia County, Virginia, and he had been astonished and charmed by the aristocratic, genial, and leisurely life that he entered. In the few years between that time and the outbreak of the war he studied law at Richmond College and made friends with the Richmond literary group, especially John Esten Cooke. During the war Eggleston served in various capacities. In 1861, with many other gentlemen horsemen, he saw service in Northern Virginia, in the

First Virginia Cavalry, first under Col. J. E. B. Stuart and later under Gen. Fitzhugh Lee. In the autumn he was transferred to the field artillery on the South Carolina coast, but in 1863 he was back north in Longstreet's artillery. That winter, as sergeant major of his battery doing provost guard duty under General Lindsay Walker, he was detailed because of his legal training to defend the worst offenders before courts martial. In 1864 his battery served as sharpshooters through the bloody siege of Petersburg; and Eggleston, with his brother Joseph as second in command, was in charge of a mortar fort. Southern Soldier Stories (1898) is dedicated to this brother:

> I dedicate this book to the 'Joe' so often mentioned in these stories. He was my loved comrade in arms, and a sharer in all my war experiences. He is now Dr. Joseph W. Eggleston of Richmond, Virginia."

With all his first-hand war experience, however, Eggleston wrote only the one volume of war stories, and that did not appear until 1898. In the intervening years Eggleston worked in Illinois, married, practiced law in Mississippi, and for twenty years did newspaper and editorial work in New York.[39] When Eggleston wrote Southern stories, he, like Page, wrote mostly about pre-war Virginia.

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[39] Biographical facts are from the Dictionary of American Biography.

Southern Soldier Stories (1898), Eggleston's one volume of war stories, relates strange incidents which occurred among the soldiers during the war. The settings of the stories are usually in South Carolina and the leader most frequently mentioned is Stuart, who is pictured as an enthusiastic, sympathetic, and much loved officer. There are forty-seven stories. Approximately one-third of them are merely pleasant stories telling such things as how battles were won by happy accident, one-third honor bravery and good soldiership, and the remaining third deal with various aspects of the war including certain interesting "characters" met in camp life, brave women, and so on. The stories are not arranged in this fashion. There is no particular pattern in their organization except that those dealing more or less with the early years of the war come first and those with the end of the war, last. Many of the stories could have happened just as well at either time.

A brief statement of the plots of a few of the stories will show Eggleston's interpretation of the war. One story expresses admiration for courageous and intelligent soldiers. Joe's disrespectful conduct toward a superior is overlooked because of his bravery and fighting skill. The next story is a discussion of whether or not any sol-

dier is without fear, and the question is answered in the negative. Another story uses the divided family theme. Twin brothers on opposite sides meet in battle and drop their swords, and Eggleston observes that "blood is thicker than water." It is interesting to note that in Bierce's stories duty is stronger than love in such cases. Another story shows how great was one man's devotion to the Southern cause. The man loses six sons in the war and when he himself receives his death wound, he says that his girls will have to fight. To him losing his sons and dying is not hard, but being thus prevented from serving the South is bad luck. Some of the stories, "William," for example, are chiefly character sketches. William is a humorous character who always refers to himself by name. One day he stops a quarrel in this way:

> Then pulling our a pocket-book, which was fat with humorous clippings, but which both men knew to contain nothing more valuable, he caressed it lovingly and said: "Before you proceed, William wants to bet one hundred-dollars to ten with one or both of you . . . that neither of you two sublimated idiots can give William a reasonable excuse for this quarrel."[40]

This story has nothing to do with the issues of the war. Equally far removed from a historical view of the war is one which tells how the soldiers found an orphaned child

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[40] G. C. Eggleston, Southern Soldier Stories (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), p. 27.

and enjoyed making clothes for her. Still another story tells how a girl disguises herself as a soldier and kills twenty-one Federals to avenge the death of her twenty-one-year-old lover.

A particularly interesting story is "Notes on Cold Harbor," which was written for the Century publication, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (1884-1887). In this story Eggleston deals humorously with the South's "logic" and stresses the importance of the quality of the volunteers in both armies. The story begins, "I always think of our arrival at Cold Harbor as marking a new phase of the war."[41] The Southern soldiers had finally gotten over their astonishment and disappointment at the "illogical" conduct of General Grant, who did not retreat and otherwise conduct his campaign in a logical way. However, Eggleston adds that their astonishment was characteristic of the Southern attitude toward the war.

> . . . The Southern folk were always debaters, loving logic, and taking off their hats to a syllogism.
>
> They had never been able to understand how any reasonable mind could doubt the right of secession, or fail to see the unlawfulness and iniquity of coercion, and they were in a chronic state of astonished incredulity, as the war began, that the North could indeed be about to wage a war that was manifestly forbidden by unimpeachable logic.[42]

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[41] Ibid., p. 191.

Then Eggleston speaks of the capacity for cheerful endurance which the soldiers showed. He says:

> With mercenary troops or regulars the resistance that Lee was able to offer to Grant's tremendous pressure would have been impossible in such circumstances. The starvation and the excessive marching would have destroyed the morale of troops held together only by discipline. No historical criticism of our Civil War can be otherwise than misleading if it omits to give a prominent place, as a factor, to the character of the volunteers on both sides, who, in acquiring the steadiness and order of regulars, never lost their personal interest in the contest, or their personal pride of manhood as a sustaining force under trying conditions.[43]

Eggleston gives literary interpretation to the war by presenting a series of close-up views which are pleasant in tone and which present the best side of the people affected.

To sum up this entire period: Between 1880 and 1899 psychological realism characterizes the fictional interpretations of the American Civil War. It reaches its height in The Red Badge of Courage (1895). The authors are interested in the war as individual human, mental, and emotional experience aside from all sectional issues.

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[42] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[43] Ibid., pp. 198-199.

Another characteristic of this period is the unromantic, disillusioned attitude toward the war which reaches its height in Bierce's stories. Nowhere in the fiction of this period is the war itself regarded either as a glorious cause to fight for, as A. J. E. Wilson regarded it in 1864, or as an accomplishment, as DeForest pictured it in 1867. Between 1880 and 1899 the fiction dealing with the American Civil War interprets the war with psychological realism, and without any partisanship, as many different kinds of human experience.

The reason for this shift in the kind of interest authors had in the war -- a shift from a partisan interest in the sectional and political issues of the war to an artistic or literary interest in war itself and in a psychological analysis of war experience -- may be found in contemporary literary trends and in the state of the American mind regarding the war. The literary trend was toward a subjective realism and the American mind, especially in the North, had been disillusioned concerning the war.

But the disillusionment did not last. At the end of this period the Spanish-American War aroused a spirit of patriotism in America together with dreams of nationalism and imperialism. There were pride in the Nation's

past and great hopes for her future. Historical romances interpreted the Civil War as an important step in the Nation's progress. Their interpretations are the subject of the next chapter.

It is interesting to note that three of the most important authors of the Civil War period did not interpret the war in fiction.

Mark Twain (1835-1910), it seems, deliberately avoided any serious treatment of the Civil War. At the beginning of the war he enlisted in the Confederate army, but he withdrew two weeks later and went to California where he stayed throughout the war. He tells the story of his brief service in "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed." Although Mark Twain knew the South, he never gave it his allegiance, and eventually Grant became his greatest hero and his attitude toward slavery became as passionately Northern at that of Mrs. Stowe. In Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894) Mark Twain deals with slavery, and in The Gilded Age (1873) he deals with the period from 1850 to 1873 and subordinates the war to a portion of one chapter. In neither does he deal directly with the war or

probe deeply into its effects. In speeches he dealt with the war as a subject for burlesque.[44]

William Dean Howells (1837-1920) intended to write a Civil War novel. He was an abolitionist and was extremely interested in the outcome of the conflict, although he went to Venice shortly after the conflict began and was there throughout the four years of the struggle. Before his departure for Venice, he thought of writing a novel with its scene in Columbus, Ohio, at the time of the first volunteering. He did write two poems of minor importance, but he never wrote the novel. Miss Smith explains the fact in this way:

> . . . If he never carried out his plans to use it, it was chiefly that he adopted a literary creed which was not congenial with it.
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> . . . . . .
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> . . . Although he temperamentally and theoretically disliked war, his avoidance of the theme and his unfriendly attitude toward the historical romances about it were motivated not primarily by temperament but by his literary doctrine of realism which stressed the average, the commonplace, the "more smiling aspects of life," and therefore had little affinity with the events of 1861 to 1876 in American life.[45]

Henry James (1843-1916) used the war theme in sev-

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[44] These facts on Mark Twain may be found in Miss Smith's thesis and in Stuart P. Sherman, "Mark Twain," The Cambridge History of American Literature, III, 3.

[45] Smith, op. cit., pp. 21-23.

eral short stories which were published in the Atlantic. They are of minor importance in his writings, but they show that he had no interest in the traditional historical novel. His critical theories, as in the case of Howells, pointed him away from an interest in war or reconstruction. Miss Smith says:

> . . . he was for a time deeply interested in the effects of the Civil War on its soldiers and their renewed contacts with normal life. The disillusionments of the nation from 1865 to 1876 must have had no small part in sending him elsewhere to seek a more gracious civilization.[46]

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[46] Smith, op. cit., p. 25.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL: NATIONALISM AND HUMANITARIANISM

1900-1919

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My entire list of Civil War fiction written during the years between 1900 and 1919 includes eighty-one items. Of these, forty-two are love romances and stories of military and naval adventure, ten are juvenile novels, ten center on the post-war period, and ten make the war secondary to some other theme. The remaining nine novels seriously interpret the American Civil War as individual or national experience. The Northern novels are: The Crisis (1901) by Winston Churchill, They That Took the Sword (1901) by Nathaniel Stephenson, and The Financier (1912) by Theodore Dreiser. The Southern novels include: The Battleground (1902) by Ellen Glasgow, Manassas (1904) by Upton Sinclair, The Welding (1907) by Emily Lafayette McLaws, The Warrens of Virginia (1908), a novel by George Cary Eggleston based on a play by DeMille, and The Long Roll (1911) and Cease Firing (1912), two novels by Mary Johnston.

These fictional interpretations show two trends, first, one toward a national, Union sentiment, and secondly, one toward international, humanitarian sentiment. I

have called the second trend international because the pacifist movement was being carried on in Europe as well as in America. The characteristics of the first group, which includes the six novels written in the first decade of the century, are :

1. The themes relate to the fate of the country.

2. The plots are directly related to the conflict between the North and the South.

3. Historical characters are introduced.

4. Fictional characters are representative of attitudes and social classes characteristic of various sections of the country.

5. Actual warfare is described as realistically as it was in the 'nineties.

In all this fiction there is an attempt to record what had lasting significance in our national life. As for the historical interpretation itself, there seems to have been no side except Lincoln's in the early years of the twentieth century. The general conclusion is that the war created a perfect and united nation by abolishing slavery. The chief distinction between the Northern and the Southern fiction is in their explanations of the cause of the war. The Northern fiction makes slavery the thing the North was fighting against; the Southern fiction states, parenthetically, that many Southern planters did not love slavery and makes the South's love for their section the

cause of their fighting. In glorying in the new nation, the Southern novels are only a little less strong than the Northern. Strange as it seems the Southern novels are more numerous.

The characteristics of the humanitarian novels, The Long Roll (1911) and Cease Firing (1912), are similar to those of the novels which praise the new Union, but there is one important difference. Mary Johnston's novels describe one wartime scene after another with the emphasis on the suffering of individuals. The purpose of these novels is not to glory in a new and perfect Union, but to forward the pacifist movement which was international in its scope. A significant European contribution to this movement was Ground Arms! (1892), an anti-war novel by an Austrian woman, Baroness Bertha von Suttner.[1]

The Financier (1912), a novel by Theodore Dreiser, who is a Northerner, covers a much longer period than that covered by the war, but it makes a contribution to Civil War interpretations too important to be omitted here. Dreiser was interested in describing the type of man that the Civil War allowed to rise. This type of man, the individualist and capitalist, is treated with scorn as

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[1] Bertha von Suttner, Ground Arms! (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1892). Translated from the German by Alice Asbury Abbott.

Eliphalet Hopper in The Crisis (1901), with faithful fidelity to facts as Cowperwood in The Financier (1912),[2] with definite recognition of his ability as Rhett Butler in Gone with the Wind (1936), and with a hero's glory as George Posey in The Fathers (1938).

The Crisis (1901) by Winston Churchill is a good Northern example of the historical romances which are characterized by national, imperialistic, Union sentiment. The scene is laid chiefly in St. Louis where Mr. Churchill was born on November 10, 1871. After completing his schooling at Smith Academy in St. Louis and at Annapolis where he received his degree in 1894, Mr. Churchill was financially able to devote himself to fiction writing and he did so. American history was his favorite subject at school, and he wrote several novels dealing with American historical events.[3]

The theme of The Crisis is American history during the critical years immediately before and during the Civil

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[2] Dreiser based his novel on a well-documented study of the wartime magnate, Yerkes, who gave Yerkes Observatory to the University of Chicago.

[3] Biographical facts from: Dilly Tante, editor, Living Authors (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1931).

War and ending with Lincoln's death. It is not only political history, but social and economic, as well. Mr. Churchill tried to present everything belonging to those critical years which was of significance in the development of our American nation.

Mr. Churchill chose St. Louis for the principal scene of his story because it was a meeting place for all the essential elements of the conflict and because it contained those that survived to form the new nation. In an "Afterword" Mr. Churchill says:

> The author has chosen St. Louis for the principal scene of this story for many reasons. Grant and Sherman were living there before the Civil War, and Abraham Lincoln was an unknown lawyer in the neighboring state of Illinois. It has been one of the aims of this book to show the remarkable contrasts in the lives of these great men who came out of the West. This old city of St. Louis . . . became the principal meeting place of two great streams of emigration which had been separated, more or less, since Cromwell's day. . . . When this great country of ours began to develop, the streams moved westward; one over what became the plain states of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois, and the other across the Blue Ridge Mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. They mixed along the line of the Ohio River. They met at St. Louis, and, farther west, in Kansas.
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> Nor can the German element in St. Louis be ignored. The part played by this people in the Civil War is a matter of history. . . .

The characters are representative of the many types of people to be found in St. Louis. The heroine is Virginia Carvel, the daughter of Colonel Carvel, a Southern

aristocrat. They are living at the time of the story in a handsome St. Louis residence, and Colonel Carvel is the owner of Carvel and Company, Wholesale Dry Goods Store. Closely connected with Virginia and her father are relatives, slaves, employees, and business friends and acquaintances. There is the Southern Clarence Colfax, Virginia's daring and adventurous cousin and fiance.. There is Eliphalet Hopper, twenty-seven years old when the story begins, an ambitious, unscrupulous man from Massachusetts who was employed by Colonel Carvel on the day of his arrival in St. Louis and who becomes a capitalist, makes money out of the war, and has no sympathy with either North or South. There is Judge Silas Whipple, a lawyer and Colonel Carvel's best friend, who is violently opposed to Colonel Carvel in his anti-slavery sentiments and in his political opinions. Judge Whipple is a Northern sympathizer and a believer in the preservation of the Union. Then, there is a Mississippi River boat captain, Captain Lige Brent, who has been helped financially by Colonel Carvel, who is accepted as a family friend, and who delivers shipments of goods to Colonel Carvel's store. In the war he takes the Union side. So much for Virginia Carvel, the Southern heroine, and her associates. The hero is Stephen Brice, a young college man from Boston, who, with

his mother, has come to St. Louis to begin a law career, in the office of Judge Whipple, a friend of his father. Because of the death of his father and the loss of their fortune, Stephen Brice is not able to continue his education in law school. He and his mother represent the Boston aristocracy. In Silas Whipple's office Stephen met Carl Richter, a representative of the university-bred German revolutionists who emigrated after '48. In addition to these fictional characters there are historical figures -- Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, and others. The picture Mr. Churchill gives of Lincoln is in harmony with the Lincoln myth, which appeared as early as 1867 in Beecher's Norwood.

The story is divided into three books. The first book introduces all the characters in the old life before the war and ends with a party in celebration of Virginia's eighteenth birthday. The reader realizes that although Virginia is engaged to Clarence Colfax and although Eliphalet Hopper has hopes of winning her by accumulating a fortune, Stephen Brice will be the winner in the end. It is important to remember that these characters are symbols of social classes. What happens to them is indicative of Churchill's interpretation of the events of the period. Here we have a Northern aristocrat winning a

Southern aristocratic bride (who finally decides that the North is right) over a Southern aristocrat and a Northern middle class capitalist. The strong feeling over slavery is indicated in Book I by Colonel Carvel's and Judge Whipple's conversations. Colonel Carvel believes slavery to be a divine institution and indispensable to the South, and he fears that the North will overwhelm the slave states. Judge Whipple holds abolitionist views. I will quote from their conversations:

> "No, Whipple," said the Colonel, "when God washed off this wicked earth, and started new, He saw fit to put the sons of Ham in subjection. . . . Abuses can't be helped in any system, sir, though we are bettering them. . . ."
>
> "A divine institution!" he shouted. "A black curse! Because the world has been a wicked place of oppression since Noah's day, is that any reason why it should so continue until the day of Judgment?"
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> . . . . . .
>
> "Now, see here, Whipple," said he. "If we had any guarantee that you would let us alone where we are, to manage our slaves and to cultivate our plantations, there wouldn't be any trouble. But the country keeps on growing and growing, and you're not content with half. You want everything, -- all the new states must abolish slavery. And after a while you will overwhelm us, and ruin us, and make us paupers. Do you wonder that we contend for our rights, tooth and nail? They are our rights."[4]

Book II is concerned almost entirely with characterizing

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[4] Winston Churchill, The Crisis (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), p. 77.

Lincoln and with getting the war well started. It begins with the German's, Carl Richter's, devotion to liberty, a background for making American liberty something of inestimable value. In telling his story Carl Richter says, in part:

> "We lost [our liberty], as I told you, because we knew not how to hold what we had gained. I left Germany hoping to make a home here for my poor father. How sad his face as he kissed me farewell! And he said to me: 'Carl if ever your new Vaterland, the good Republic, be in danger sacrifice all. I have spent my years in bondage, and I say to you that life without liberty is not worth the living.' Three months I was gone, and he was dead without that for which he had striven so bravely. He never knew from one day to the other when he would have to embrace me, all he owned, and march away to prison, because he was a patriot." Richter's voice had fallen low, but now he raised it. "Do you think, my friend," he cried, "do you think that I would not die willingly for this new country if the time should come? Yes, and there are a million like me, once German, now American, who will give their lives to preserve this Union. For without it the world is not fit to live in."[5]

Then Judge Silas Whipple sends Stephen Brice on an errand to Lincoln who is favorably impressed with Brice and detains him a day or two in order that he may hear the Freeport Debate. Lincoln is pictured as an ugly man, as an inveterate story teller, and as the possessor of eyes which had a strangely compelling effect upon people. He is represented as being infinitely wise and of intending to give Douglas the senatorship in order to keep him out

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[5] Ibid., p. 122.

of the White House in 1860. The chapter called "The Crisis" is the one which contains the famous question which Lincoln asked Douglas in the Freeport Debate. Concerning Stephen's trip to Freeport Mr. Churchill says: "That which passed before Stephen's eyes, and to which his ears listened at Freeport, was the Great Republic pushing westward to the Pacific."[6] The chapter entitled "The Crisis" ends with this evaluation of Lincoln:

> This Lincoln of the black loam, who built his neighbor's cabin and hoed his neighbor's corn, who had been storekeeper and postmaster and flat-boatman. Who had followed a rough judge dealing a rough justice around a rough circuit; who had rolled a local bully in the dirt; rescued women from insult; tended the bedside of many a sick coward who feared the Judgment; told coarse stories on barrels by candlelight (but these are pure beside the vice of great cities); who addressed political mobs in the raw, swooping down from the stump and flinging embroilers east and west. This physician who was one day to tend the sickbed of the Nation in her agony; whose large hand was to be on her feeble pulse, and whose knowledge almost divine was to perform the miracle of her healing. So was it that the Physician Himself performed His cures, and when His work was done, died a Martyr.
>
> Abraham Lincoln died in His name.[7]

By the end of Book II the war has started, people have taken sides, and friendships are strained and silenced. In addition to political history, Mr. Churchill gives

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[6] Ibid., p. 149.

[7] Ibid., p. 160.

social history. He tries to build up a picture of life in St. Louis immediately preceding the war. He refers to the summer vacations and the summer houses of the well-to-do. He refers to railroads and horse cars. He contrasts Stephen Brice with young St. Louis society which came of Southern ancestry. There are two chapters about the visit of the Prince of Wales and the festivities in his honor, gayety which ignored the portentious rumblings of danger from the oncoming election. In the background German regiments are drilling in preparation for a war for the Union. Young society men are attending Unionist meetings in secret. At the end of Book II Virginia and Colonel Carvel have left their St. Louis home and have gone to their suburban home. The Colonel has volunteered to serve in the Southern army and has been refused because of his age. Clarence Colfax is in the Southern army. Stephen Brice is a Unionist but has not entered active service because he is needed in St. Louis to care for his mother. The boat captain and Carl Richter are in the Union army. Judge Whipple is a strong Unionist but his health is failing and he is too old to fight. In Book III the country is saved and the characters meet their fates. The first chapter of this last book is called "Introducing a Capitalist." The Capitalist is, of course, Eliphalet Hopper.

The war has cut off Colonel Carvel's income from the South and has made it impossible for him to borrow from the local banks. Eastern debts are due, and the store is about to be lost when Eliphalet offers to pay the debts in return for Colonel Carvel's note. Hopper later uses this note to try to force Virginia to marry him. Still later he threatens to have Colonel Carvel shot as a spy if Virginia will not marry him. Stephen Brice dramatically enters in time to beat Hopper's head against a table. Hopper had paid his own way out of serving in the army. Colonel Carvel finally goes to war and is killed. Judge Whipple dies on a cot in his own office with his friends around him -- Virginia, her father, Mrs. Brice, Stephen, and Mr. Brainsmade, a Unionist neighbor. Clarence Colfax, twice helped by Stephen Brice, once when he was injured and once when he was sentenced to be shot as a spy, realizes that Virginia does not love him and releases her from the engagement. After talking with Lincoln, Virginia ceases to hate Stephen Brice because of his Yankee blood and Unionist sympathies. Lincoln is instrumental in completing the romance. The novel ends with Lincoln's death:

> In the morning came to them the news of Abraham Lincoln's death. And the same thought was in both their hearts, who had known him as it was given to few to know him. How he had lived in sorrow; how he had died a martyr on the very day of Christ's death upon

> the cross. And they believed that Abraham Lincoln gave his life for his country even as Christ gave his for the world.
>
> And so must we believe that God has reserved for this nation a destiny high upon the earth.[8]

As a final word Mr. Churchill has Stephen Brice, many years later, read to his wife the last paragraph of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

Since Mr. Churchill interprets the war historically, our problem now is to see what interpretation he gives to the history. In the "Afterword" Mr. Churchill tells us in so many words that he tried to take Lincoln's side:

> One word more. This book is written of a time when feelings ran high. It has been necessary to put strong speech into the mouths of the characters. The breach that threatened our country's existence is healed now. There is no side but Abraham Lincoln's side. And this side, with all reverence and patriotism, the author has tried to take.
>
> Abraham Lincoln loved the South as well as the North.[9]

Mr. Churchill interprets the war as a rebellion which had to be stamped out. His book is based on the beliefs that slavery is wrong, that the Union could not exist half slave and half free, and that the preservation of this free country is worth every sacrifice.

The same interpretation of the war and essentially

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[8] Ibid., p. 520.

[9] Ibid., p. 522.

the same pattern may be found in the much briefer novel, They That Took the Sword (1901), by Nathaniel Stephenson (1867-1935), a historian and a native of Cincinnati, where the scene of his story is laid.[10]

The novel opens on August 30, 1862, in the stately Cincinnati residence of Enfield Dayton, a Unionist. His grand-daughter and the heroine, Amy Golding, lives with Enfield Dayton but is a Southern sympathizer because her father is in the Southern army. Out of respect for Amy, her grandfather has forbidden any discussion of the war in Amy's presence. The hero is a neighbor, Vincent Kainson, who joins the Union army and for a time loses Amy's love. Vincent's father, like Amy's, is in the Rebel army with another son, Everard Kainson. Both brothers, although in opposing armies, become involved in some apparently traitorous actions and are brought to trial. Vincent is cleared but Everard is condemned to death. To save Everard's life, Enfield Dayton, Amy, and Vincent, as well as an uncle of Everard's, appeal to Lincoln who arranges for Everard's pardon and also wipes away Amy's objections to Vincent's Unionist sympathies.

In developing this plot, Stephenson pictures the

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[10] Biographical facts in: Albert Nelson Marquis, editor, Who's Who in America (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1936-37).

spirited wartimes in Cincinnati -- the division of families, secret meetings, the mustering of troops, and the like -- but he begins his novel after the war has started and does not give reasons, as Churchill does, for the conflict. In Stephenson's novel we simply find Cincinnati men courageously defending whatever they deem right. In the end the survivors continue life in the saved Republic.

In interpreting the war, Stephenson, like Churchill, takes Lincoln's interpretation. The novel ends with these words, described as "words which ought to follow as inevitably as the benediction every American undertaking great or small -- God Save the Republic."

Good Southern examples of these optimistic, patriotic, historical romances are Manassas (1904) by Upton Sinclair and The Welding (1907) by Emily Lafayette McLaws. After these two novels have been analyzed and their interpretations given, it will not be necessary to treat The Battleground (1902) by Ellen Glasgow and The Warrens of Virginia (1908) by George Cary Eggleston as fully, for they will then add nothing to the interpretation of the Civil War given by this type of fiction.

Unusual as it may seem, Manassas (1904), the most extremely Northern, the most thoroughly abolitionist novel of this period was written by a Southerner. Mr. Upton

Sinclair, the author, was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 20, 1878, the son of a Southern leisure class family. However, the family fortune had been swept away by the Civil War, and while the leisure class tradition remained, there was no money. Mr. Sinclair was thinking of himself when he made the central character a Southerner converted to abolitionist views. He himself is an aristocrat converted to Socialist views. At the time he wrote Manassas he was beginning to recognize the beliefs and opinions that he had developed from his personal experience as also those of a group of people called Socialists.[11] Incidentally, it was a Socialist, George D. Herron of New York, who gave Mr. Sinclair the money to live on while he wrote Manassas. Mr. Herron advanced two hundred dollars and then paid Mr. Sinclair thirty dollars a month during the year that it took to write the novel. Concerning Manassas, Mr. Sinclair says, "I had exchanged my Virginia ideals for those of Massachusetts, and was intending to portray the Civil War from the Yankee point of view."[12] He intended to write a trilogy of novels:

> . . . "Manassas," "Gettysburg," and "Appomattox"

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[11] Upton Sinclair, American Outpost (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1932), pp. 140 ff.

[12] Ibid., p. 132.

> were to be the titles of these mighty works, and by contemplation of the heroism and glory of the past, America was to be redeemed from the sordidness and shame of the present.[13]

Manassas, of course, was written, but the other two novels did not materialize.

Mr. Sinclair wrote Manassas "that the men of this land may know the heritage that has come down to them."[14] By "know the heritage" Mr. Sinclair means "know the country through its history." He wants "the men of this land" to know what battles were fought and what sufferings were endured in the making of this free country in order that by contemplating the past they may remedy the social evils of the present. It is important to note, however, that in interpreting the Civil War, Mr. Sinclair gives an abolitionist interpretation and not a socialistic one. There is no more socialism in Manassas, than there is in The Crisis. In both novels it is limited to one German Socialist character.

The theme of Manassas is the history of our country from the Revolution to the Battle of Manassas, or Bull Run, with the emphasis on events leading up to the Civil

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[13] Ibid., p. 131.

[14] Upton Sinclair, Manassas (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), Flyleaf.

War and especially on the abolitionist movement. Mr. Sinclair includes all the political events, between about 1848 and 1862, that are included in histories which trace the events leading up to the Civil War. He goes into minute detail in showing the workings of the abolitionists. The chief respect in which Sinclair's history is incomplete is in the omission of conservative viewpoints. Mr. Sinclair emphasizes the intense feeling of both sides and includes only the extremists. Manassas reads like a history book except that it is partisan and emotionalized history.

In developing his historical theme Mr. Sinclair endeavors to bring the history to life by making it in some way enter the experience of the central character, Allan Montague, the son of a Mississippi plantation owner. Further than this there is no plot. The story opens about the year 1848 on the Mississippi plantation with Grandfather Montague telling eight-year-old Allan and his cousin Randolph stories of the Revolutionary War and urging them to love their country and to give their best to her. Then abruptly, Allan's father, with Allan, goes to Boston to live in order to take care of the interests of the plantation. The father remains strictly Southern in his sympathies, but Allan becomes an abolitionist. While in

Boston, in addition to preparing for and entering Harvard, Allan meets Levi Coffin, the "Underground Railroad" abolitionist, hears Frederick Douglas, the negro pleader for abolition, reads Uncle Tom's Cabin, and hears of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Just before the outbreak of the war, when Allan is in his second year at Harvard, his father announces that they will return to Mississippi. Unable to discuss his abolitionist leanings with his father, Allan goes back to the plantation. Shortly after their arrival two events occur on the same afternoon which send Allan to the North again. In a burst of feeling Allan shows his family where his sympathies are; and his father is brought home dead, having been killed in an accident caused by a runaway horse. Allan goes to the North and, when the war begins, enlists. Sometime after his enlistment he visits Lincoln and finds him a kindly, awkward man, and an inveterate story teller. Among the men Allan meets in the army is Sergeant Schlemmer, a German Socialist. He fills about the same place in this novel that the German, Carl Richter, fills in The Crisis. The following quotations give, in part, Schlemmer's history:

> ". . . I am a socialist, and I fight for freedom."
>
> "Where?" Allan asked.

"In many places I have helped," said the other . . . "Wherever there was fighting, in '48 and '49. I was in Poland, and then in Saxony. I was in the street fighting in Dresden, when we tried to overthrow the monarchy. I was on the barricades . . ."

"How long have you been in this country?" Allan asked.

"Eight years I have been here," said Sergeant Schlemmer. "When I was married, I came."

"Oh," said Allan; "then you have a family?"

"I have three children," the man replied.

"But how can you leave them to go to war? -- What will they do?"

"They have a little," he said . . . "they will get along. Your people will help them, perhaps, and my comrades have promised."

"And you like this country well enough to fight for it?" Allan inquired.

"All the world is the socialist's country," the man answered. "When we fight for freedom; it does not matter to us where we fight."[15]

In his first battle, the Battle of Manassas, Allan acts very much as Crane's Henry Fleming did. Mr. Sinclair's description of the battle sounds like Crane and Bierce combined. Notice the change here from a desire for some real fighting to a fear of the battle.

Saturday evening, the twentieth day of July, the orders came at last. Cooked rations were distributed, and the regiment was ordered to march at half-past one the following morning. Everybody felt that this time

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[15] Ibid., pp. 356-357.

it meant business -- that the death grapple with secession was coming.

The men discussed it, sitting in groups, some of them busily cleaning their rifles. Others, who happened to be of a meditative turn of mind, went apart, feeling solemn. They were students, and business-men, and clerks, these volunteers -- as for fighting, some of them had never been in so much as a fist fight in their lives. A battle was a thing about which they knew through books, a thing that had always seemed as far away and impossible as the Arabian Nights. And now there was going to be one -- here! tomorrow! And they were going to be in it! How strange it was to think about! Bits of incidents they had read would float into their minds -- things bloody and terrible -- and now suddenly become real! One looked at his companions, wondering. Did they know what they were going to do -- did they realize what it was going to be like? Could it possibly be that they did, and that they did not mind it any more than they seemed to? What uncomfortable people they had suddenly become! And how overwhelmingly you felt your own inferiority -- quaking and upset as you were.

You imagined yourself in the battle . . . Such a very ticklish feeling came over you; so strangely aware you became all at once -- of your stomach! Your stomach was such a soft and mushy thing; surely if a man had been intended to go into a place where bullets were flying, he ought to have had some kind of a hard coating over his stomach.[16]

Note the realism in this description of the aftermath of a real battle:

It was a real battle, there was no mistake; it was a victory, too -- the fighting was a mile or two ahead, and yet it had once been where they were! Here and there over the fields they could see the debris of the conflict . . .

But some of the things you saw here were far from glorious. Wounded men were coming down the road . . . And then suddenly -- underneath a tree -- God, what a sight was that! The hospital corps had taken its

> stand here, and raised its flag; men were lying stretched out in rows -- and right in the roadside was one upon his back, with a surgeon bending over him. The man's face was upturned, white as a sheet, and savagely distorted. He was clutching his sword in one hand, and the cords stood out upon the hand. The surgeon had sliced away the man's trousers, and he was mechanically sawing away at his leg. You heard the saw rasp at his bone -- ugh![17]

Compare this incident with the similar one in The Red Badge of Courage:

> And then suddenly from somewhere opposite there burst out a cloud of smoke and flame, and Allan heard at his side a crushing, spatting sound, and felt his cousin, whom he still grasped with one arm, half torn out of it. Things smote him in the face, cutting him, tearing him, blinding him; and over his hands there rushed a flood of something hot and horrible. In a spasm of fright he shook his head free and wiped clear his eyes -- staring, Jack -- great God, where was Jack! Here was his body, and above it a neck-bone sticking up, and a jaw dangling in front of it and out of the middle, gushing up as from a fountain -- pumping, pumping -- a jet of crimson blood!
>
> Allan reeled, and staggered backwards with a scream; and the body lunged forward, a stream of blood gushing forth and slopping over his feet. The sky seemed to grow black before his eyes; the trees danced and swayed, and he clutched his hands over his face. Shudder after shudder passed through his frame -- and then, suddenly, with a choking cry, he turned and fled away.[18]

The novel ends, after the Battle of Manassas, with the following song sung by three of Allan's Southern

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[16] Ibid., pp. 384-385.

[17] Ibid., p. 390.

[18] Ibid., pp. 393-394.

cousins:

"War to the hilt!
Theirs be the guilt,
Who fetter the freeman
To ransom the slave!"[19]

Encouraged by their victory these Southern aristocrats were laying the blame for the war at the door of the North who, they thought, was trying to enslave Southern whites in order to free the negroes.

Mr. Sinclair interprets the war by giving its causes and by giving a psychologically realistic picture of actual fighting. The war was caused, according to Mr. Sinclair, by the North's humanitarian interest in the negro and the South's defense of slavery. He backs up these causes with a wealth of historical incidents. Mr. Sinclair stops this first volume of his proposed trilogy with the Battle of Manassas, which was lost by the North. The inference is that still more suffering had to be endured, still other bloody battles had to be fought to give us this free country as our heritage. Mr. Sinclair wrote the novel "that the men of this land may know the heritage that is come down to them." Mr. Sinclair interprets the war as a war against slavery and for freedom.

The Welding (1907) was written by Miss Emily Lafayette McLaws, a native of Augusta, Georgia. The novel is

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[19] Ibid., p. 412.

dedicated to her uncle, Major-General Lafayette McLaws of the Confederate army. Her mother's maiden name was Sarah Twiggs and in The Welding there is a Colonel George Twiggs, son of a Revolutionary soldier, and two other characters bearing the name of Twiggs as a given name. Miss McLaws was educated under governesses and tutors at home and later in Boston private schools. After the death of her parents she went to New York under the chaperonage of Mrs. Jefferson Davis. She speaks four modern languages besides English. Her fiction deals chiefly with historical themes.[20]

Miss McLaws's purpose in writing The Welding (1907) is very similar to Upton Sinclair's in Manassas. Instead of "That the men of this land may know the heritage that is come down to them," Miss McLaws quotes from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. On a flyleaf at the beginning of The Welding are the words:

> That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

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[20] Miss McLaws is the author of When the Land Was Young (1901), Jezebel (1902), Maid of Athens (1906), The Welding (1907), In the Dust of Defeat (1910), and Evenings with Mrs. J. Davis (1910). Biographical facts from A. N. Marquis, editor, Who's Who in America, 1912-1913 (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1899-1939). No birth date is given.

The theme of The Welding is indicated by the title. It is the pressing of the two halves of our nation into a closer Union. Lincoln is the welder, and the abolition of slavery is the condition necessary to the welding.

The novel is divided into three books: Book I "Which Deals with Conditions," Book II "The Fusing of the Union," and Book III "The Welding of the Nation." In Book II the Union was dissolved, and in Book III the nation was again made into one. The principal scene is Georgia. The first book describes the social classes in the South, indicates that there is anti-slavery agitation going on more or less under cover, refers to slaves' running away, and describes a slave auction and the inhuman treatment some of the slaves suffered at the hands of their owners. The abolitionist attitudes are expressed in the following quotation from papers one fictional character brought with him to Georgia:

> Jefferson said: "One day of American slavery is worse than a thousand years of that we rose in arms to oppose."
>
> The Declaration in the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society: We maintain that no compensation should be given the planters for emancipating their slaves, because slavery is a crime and therefore not an article to be sold. We shall organize anti-slavery societies in every city, town, and village in our land. We shall spare no exertion nor means to bring the whole nation to repentance, whether we live to witness the triumph or perish, untimely

martyrs in the great, benevolent, and holy cause. Book II fuses or dissolves the Union by the heat of anti-slavery agitation and war. It gives a survey of events from 1849 to after the beginning of the war. David Twiggs Hamilton, the central character and the character through whose eyes we saw the conditions described in Book I, has lost both his father and his mother and has gone to Congress as a page for Alexander Stephens. David knew the evils of slavery from personal experience, but he knew that Georgia came into the Union with honestly bought slaves, and he, influenced by Alexander Stephens and by home ties, remains loyal to Georgia. The historical background for the years 1849 to 1861 is indicated by the mention of Uncle Tom's Cabin and John Brown, both attacking slavery from a humanistic standpoint, by the mention of The Impending Crisis, which attacked slavery from an economic point of view, and by the mention of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Alexander Stephens, a Georgia man, of course, is made a hero, and, according to Miss McLaws, would have been the president of the Confederacy had he not refused on the grounds that he was unwilling to strike the first blow at the Union. In this book there is the usual division of lovers. The heroine is a Northerner. Book III, "The Welding of the Nation," presses the nation

into intimate and permanent union while it was softened by the heat of war. The book ends the war and unites in marriage both a Southern hero with a Northern heroine and the Northern brother of the heroine with a Southern girl. Lincoln performs his inevitable service of saving a young man from death at the heroine's request. This time it is her brother who is in Libby Prison and condemned to be hanged. Lincoln arranges an exchange of prisoners.

The Welding interprets the war just as Manassas does: the cause, slavery; the result, a free nation; the actual fighting, horrible brutality.

A third Southern novel written in this same trend is The Battleground (1902) by Ellen Glasgow, a native of Richmond, Virginia, born on April 22, 1874. In addition to this historical romance dealing with the Civil War, Miss Glasgow has written three others on the post-war period: The Voice of the People (1900), Deliverance (1904), and The Romance of a Plain Man (1909).[21]

The theme of The Battleground is the life of the people of two wealthy Virginia families. The heroine is Betty Ambler of Uplands Plantation, the daughter of a former governor of Virginia. The hero is Dandridge Mont-

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[21] Biographical facts from Living Authors.

joy of Cherisoke Plantation, the grandson of Major Lightfoot, a veteran of the Mexican War. The other characters include relatives, friends, and slaves, but no Northern characters and no historical characters. The scenes in the first two books of the novel, "Golden Years" and "Young Blood," are laid on the plantations where the love story of Betty and Dan begins and where conversations foreshadow the oncoming conflict. The scenes in the last two books, "The School of War" and "The Return of the Vanquished," follow the Virginia regiment through the war and back home where Dan and Betty are ready to work together to live in the changed South.

In interpreting the war Miss Glasgow presents the contrast between the luxury of the Southerner's lives before the war with the extreme poverty which accompanied and followed it. In the army scenes pain, weariness, and hunger are emphasized along with the love for Virginia and for Lee which made the men willing to fight. The soldiers fought for Virginia, not for slavery. Governor Ambler loved the Union, although he loved Virginia more, but he did not like slavery. Miss Glasgow leaves us with the impression that even though the South was battle-scarred it was better that the slaves were freed.

George Cary Eggleston, the author of Southern Sol-

dier Stories (1898), also wrote a historical romance on the Civil War -- The Warrens of Virginia (1908). It contains most of the elements we have found in the other novels. The theme is the important phase of our national history. The story movement, indicated by the titles of the four books -- "The Breaking of the Bonds," "The Struggle of the Giants," "The End of an Epoch," and "Chapter First and Last" -- records the progress of our country from slavery through disunion to a more perfect Union. The love story behind the national history is the familiar one. The Northern hero, Edgar Burton, falls in love with the Southern heroine, Agatha Warren, before the war, seemingly loses her because of his opposing sympathies during the war, and is forgiven and accepted by her at the end of the war. The interpretation of the war is just what we have found in all the novels of the first decade of this century: the war was horrible but necessary to the progress of our country.

After this wave of nationalistic patriotism began to recede, there is disillusionment concerning the war. Mary Johnston believes that all war is bad. Her two Southern novels show a trend in Civil War interpretations toward international, humanitarian sentiment. Mary Johnston's purpose was not to remind us of our heritage but to

remind us of the horrible side of war.

Mary Johnston was born on November 21, 1870, at Buchanan, Botetourt County, Virginia, the daughter of Major John William Johnston, a Confederate veteran, lawyer, and ex-member of the Virginia legislature. Her father's library was undoubtedly full of histories and it is probable that his daughter received the background for her Civil War novels from his library.[22]

The Long Roll (1911) and Cease Firing (1912) may be taken together as one long novel. The characters are the same and in point of time the two novels overlap very little. The Long Roll begins in 1861 and ends in May, 1863, with Stonewall Jackson's death, and Cease Firing begins in December, 1862, and ends in April, 1865. The historical background in these novels is military, rather than political as it was in The Crisis, Manassas, The Welding, and others. Miss Johnston follows in detail the movements of the Army of Northern Virginia. It seems to me that all the well known Southern leaders as well as a few Northern ones appear or are mentioned in the story. The Southern leaders are loved, cheered, and praised by their soldiers. The fictional characters, as may be ex-

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[22] Biographical facts from Living Authors.

pected in historical romances, represent the various social classes. Richard Cleave and Judith Cary, the central characters, belong to the Virginia plantation aristocracy. The Cleave family lived on Three Oaks Plantation, and the Cary family on Greenwood Plantation. Judith's brother Edward married a girl from Cape Jessamine Plantation in Louisiana. Maury Stafford, another Southern aristocrat, was Richard's rival for the hand of Judith Cary. Below them in the social scale was Allan Gold, who before the war was a school teacher on Thunder Run Mountain, Aunt Sairy, his aunt, and Tom, her husband, who was the toll gate keeper at Thunder Run Mountain, the Maydew family, ignorant whites, and Steve Dagg, a worthless loafer of the poor white class. There is one Northern fictional character, Colonel Francis Marchmont, a Northern spy.

The story is briefly this: Richard Cleave, Colonel of the 65th Virginia Regiment, was falsely accused by his rival in love, Maury Stafford, of bringing disaster upon his men in a battle. Cleave resigned his commission, took the name of Philip Deaderick, and served as a private until long after when Maury Stafford cleared him. Richard and Judith were married at the end of Cease Firing and they vowed to teach their children to love Virginia. The The other love story, that of Edward Cary and Desiree

Gaillard, was quite different. Edward, an infantry man, and Desiree were married during the war. Desiree followed the army so that she might nurse Edward if he were wounded. Once she saved his life but later they both were killed.

This fictional plot is of minor importance. The characters are slowly introduced as the story of the armies is followed from the beginning of the war to the end. Battle after battle and death after death are described. From time to time Miss Johnston gives us glimpses of life behind the lines -- of non-combatants watching parades, trying to exist under strange conditions, helping in hospitals, and fleeing from burning homes. Several times characters give their reaction to or opinions of the war. The following quotations give opinions of several social classes:

> General Johnston: I believed that, apart from any right of secession, the revolution begun was justified by the maxims so often repeated by Americans, that free government is founded on the consent of the governed, and that every community strong enough to establish and maintain its independence has a right to assert it. My father fought Great Britain in defence of that principle. Patrick Henry was my mother's uncle. Having been educated in such opinions, I naturally returned to the state of which I was a native, joined my kith and kin, the people among whom I was born, and fought-- and fight -- in their defence.[23]

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[23] Mary Johnston, Cease Firing (Boston: Houghton, 1912), p. 29.

Two soldiers: The guns echo so. Here they come! And God knows I am sorry for them -- for Abner here and Abner there! Martin, I hate war.

It ain't exactly Christian, and it's so damned avoidable. . . . The baby died, and I recon his wife -- and she was a sweet, pretty girl -- 'll go to the Asylum at Williamsburg. . . [24]

Billy Maydew, an ignorant mountaineer: "I don't know that I hate anybody now," said Billy aloud.

"Don't you?" asked the man next him. "I wouldn't be a namby-pamby like that! I couldn't get along without hating, any more than I could without tansy in the spring-time!"

"Oh, thar air times," said Billy equably, "when I think I hate the Yanks."

"Think! Don't you know?"

Billy was counting the cartridges in his cartridge box. "Why," he said when he had finished, "sometimes of course I hate them like p'ison oak. But then thar air other times when I consider that -- according to their newspapers -- they hate me like p'ison oak, too. Now I do a power of wrong things, I know, but I air not p'ison oak. And so, according to what Allan calls 'logic', maybe they air not p'ison oak either. That was a man in the Wilderness. The fire in the scrub was coming close enough to feel the devil in it -- closer and closer. And his spine was hurt and he couldn't move, and he had his shoulder against a log, one end of which was blazing. He was sitting there all lit up by that light, and he had his musket butt up and was trying to beat out his brains. Me and Jim Watts got him out, and he was from Boston and a young man like me, and I liked him just as well as ever I liked any man. He put his arms around my neck and he hugged me and cried, and I hugged him, too, and I reckon I cried too. And him and me got him out through the scrub afire. He wa'n't no p'ison oak, no more'n I were."

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[24] Ibid., p. 42.

"Well, what're you fighting for?"

"I am fighting," said Billy, "for the right to secede."[25]

The end of the book. Allan Gold: "I think that we were both right and both wrong, and that in the beginning, each side might have been more patient and much wiser. Life and history, and right and wrong and minds of men look out of more windows than we used to think. Did you never hear of the shield that had two sides and both were precious metal? The traveller who said, 'This is a gold shield,' was right -- half right. And the traveller who said, 'This is a silver shield,' was right -- half right. The trouble was neither took the trouble to walk round the shield. So it is, I reckon, in most wars -- this one not excepted! Of course, being in, we've done good fighting . . ."[26]

Mary Johnston interprets the war realistically. Her description of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg reminds one of The Red Badge of Courage. Her purpose, however, goes farther than Crane's; she is pleading for wars to cease.

And now we come to The Financier (1912) by Theodore Dreiser,[27] who was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, on August 27, 1871, wrote The Financier (1912) to trace the career o of a capitalist from 1837, the year of the capitalist's birth, down to the panic of 1873. The setting of the novel is Philadelphia. At the time of the war Frank Al-

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[25] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[26] Ibid., p. 457.

[27] A good study of Dreiser is Burton Rascoe, Theodore Dreiser (New York: R. M. McBride and Company, 1925).

gernon Cowperwood, the financier was "a cool determined youth."[28] He thought that the slavery agitation might be founded in human rights, but that it was extremely dangerous to trade. The freedom of the negro was not the important point to him. He was not sure that negroes could be made into anything more significant than they were. He hoped that the North would win, but he saw no reason why the South should not protest. He himself did not want to fight and he called the men who enlisted "the poor overwrought working-man."[29] He pitied them and thought that they did not know what they were doing. The current war-spirit was strange to him.

> . . . He did not care to fight. That seemed silly for the individual man to do. Others might -- there were many poor, thin-minded, half-baked creatures who would put themselves up to be shot; but they were only fit to be commanded or shot down. As for him, his life was sacred to himself and his family and his personal interests.[30]

> His personal attitude toward the war, however, and aside from his patriotic feeling that the Union ought to be maintained, was that it was destructive and wasteful. He was by no means so lacking in patriotic emotion and sentiment but that he could feel that the Union, as it had now come to be, spreading its great length from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the snows of Canada to the Gulf, was worthwhile.[31]

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[28] Theodore Dreiser, The Financier (New York: Harper, 1912), p. 65.

[29] Ibid., p. 65.

[30] Ibid., p. 65

One day Cowperwood saw Lincoln, and from then on the President's greatness was impressed upon him. Dreiser says: "War and statesmanship were not for him; but he knew how important such things were -- at times."[32] During the war Cowperwood made money by helping to supply the government with money through stocks and bonds. However, he was anxious for the war to end: "This fratricidal war in the nation could not help him. It really delayed, he thought, the true commercial and financial adjustment of the country and he hoped that it would soon end."[33]

This is just about the extent of Dreiser's interpretation of the Civil War. Cowperwood is especially interesting to this study when compared with Churchill's Eliphalet Hopper and with the recent treatments of the capitalist which will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis. By 1912 the wave of patriotism was receding and the capitalist was not so contemptible as he had been in 1901.

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[31] Ibid., p. 84.

[32] Ibid., p. 67.

[33] Ibid., p. 85.

To sum up: Between 1900 and 1919 the trend in fictional interpretations of the American Civil War seems to be, first, a patriotic pride in our nation's history and, secondly, a pacifist movement. With the turn of the century the fictional interpretations of the American Civil War shift from the interest of the eighteen-nineties in picturing with psychological realism wartime experiences of individuals to an interest in interpreting the war as a national experience. It is a shift from a psychological interest in war to a patriotic interest in this particular war. After the Spanish-American War nationalism and imperialism were in the air. Business conditions were good, and well-being characterized the early years of the new century. The Civil War became one colorful epoch in the past of a nation which was looking toward a glorious future. But, this patriotism waned. The last historical romances are anti-war in sentiment, showing the influence of the international pacifist movement.

The next chapter deals with the fictional interpretations of the Civil War which were written after the World War. In their general, external pattern they resemble the historical romances, and in their interest in individual psychology they resemble the short story writers of the eighteen-nineties. However, their interpreta-

tion of the war is different from any we have found; it is an economic interpretation.

CHAPTER IV

PSYCHOLOGICAL : NATURALISM AND INDUSTRIALISM

1920-1939

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PSYCHOLOGICAL: NATURALISM AND INDUSTRIALISM

1920-1939

In the period from 1920 to 1939 there are twenty-two items in my bibliography of Civil War fiction.[1] Of these three deal with much longer periods of time, three are adventure or love stories, two make the war secondary to another theme and one is a juvenile story. The remaining thirteen novels are interpretations of the War. Five of them were written by Northerners, and eight by Southerners.

The earliest Northern interpretation is John Brown's Body (1927) by Stephen Vincent Benet. Being an epic poem and not a novel, it really does not come within the bounds of this thesis, but its panoramic treatment of the war is pertinent. MacKinlay Kantor furnishes the next two Northern interpretations in his novels, Long Remember (1934) and Arouse and Beware (1936). The first covers two months

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[1] This number probably should not be compared with the numbers for the other three periods. For the first two periods I used the bibliography compiled by Miss Smith, who had more available sources than I have. For the period from 1900 to 1919 I used Ernest Albert Baker's Guide to Historical Fiction (1904) which covered the early years. But, for this last period I had no assembled bibliography to start from.

of the war, and the second only ten days. Yet, Kantor's accounts of the experiences of his characters in those brief periods present good psychological studies of the war. The most recent of the Northern novels are Royce Brier's Boy in Blue (1937) and Hervey Allen's Action at Aquila (1938). Boy in Blue (1937) tells how the Civil War affected an Indiana farm boy. Action at Aquila (1938) tells what it meant to a veteran of the Mexican War whose home was in Pennsylvania.

The earliest Southern novel of this period, Marching On (1927) by James Boyd, interprets the war from the point of view of a Southerner who is not a slave owner. The next one, The Wave (1929) by Evelyn Scott, is panoramic in its view of the war. So Red the Rose (1934) by Stark Young, Gone with the Wind (1936) by Margaret Mitchell, Bugles Blow No More (1937) by Caroline Duff-Gordon (Mrs. Allen Tate) all deal with the experiences of Southerners in definite localities and with the overthrow of the Southern civilization. The Unvanquished (1938) by William Faulkner also does this, but it tells of some people who were not conquered. The Fathers (1938) by Allen Tate pictures the overthrow of the planter aristocracy and also the career of an individualist who is a kind of capitalist.

These novels give economic and psychological interpretations of the war. In their general pattern they resemble the historical romances, but they replace the political interest of the romances with an interest in the economic significance of the conflict. In addition, the use of psychological analysis is shifted in many cases from the battlefield to the life behind the lines. These novelists try to re-create the war as it was experienced by people contemporary with the war. They interpret the war as a force in nature, as a characteristic of human nature, and as a money war. More often, however, they interpret it as a phase of the Industrial Revolution, as the triumph of industrialism and the defeat of the planter civilization.

Stephen Vincent Benet, who was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on July 22, 1898, gives us the earliest Northern interpretation of the American Civil War in this period, John Brown's Body (1927). It is not surprising that Benet chose the Civil War as a literary subject. Many reference books about the war were in his father's library. The various sections of the country and the life of army men were familiar to him because his father was in

the army and took his family with him to each place in which he was stationed. Benet's grandfather and his great-grandfather were also professional soldiers. Benet became a poet instead of a soldier, but he wrote, at least once, on a military theme. Writing, also, seems characteristic of his family. His older brother and sister, William Rose and Laura, are both poets and critics.[2]

Mr. Benet, in John Brown's Body (1927), says that sometimes in nature a blind, unreasoning force arises and, like a stone, batters down whatever is in its way. John Brown had a blind, unreasoning, fanatical belief that the slaves must be freed, or, rather, that he must free the slaves. He was killed, but the sympathy aroused by his martyrdom in the cause made John Brown's body act as a stone in battering down slavery.

> Sometimes there comes a crack in Time itself.
> Sometimes the earth is torn by something blind.
> Sometimes an image that has stood so long
> It seems implanted as the polar star
> Is moved against an unfathomed force
> That suddenly will not have it any more.
> Call it the "mores," call it God or Fate,
> Call it Mansoul or economic law,
> That force exists and moves.
>
> And when it moves
> It will employ a hard and actual stone
> To batter into bits an actual wall
> And change the actual scheme of things.

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[2] Biographical facts from Dilly Tante, editor, Living Authors (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1931).

John Brown
Was such a stone -- unreasoning as a stone,
Destructive as the stone, and if you like,
Heroic and devoted as such a stone.[3]

The theme of the poem is the influence of this force, symbolized by John Brown's body, in the destruction of the Old South. As Mr. Benet develops this theme we see the stone moving through the country, uprooting and overthrowing the established systems of life in all classes of people. In the foreground we have Clay Wingate, a Southern aristocrat, fighting for "something so dim that it must be holy." He is willing to "live and die for Dixie." This is the trend of his musings:

Why were they all going out to war?

He brooded a moment. It wasn't slavery,
That stale red-herring of Yankee knavery
Nor even states-rights, at least not solely,
But something so dim that it must be holy.

. . . . . .

If there ever has been a land worth saving --
'In Dixie land, I'll take my stand,
And live and die for Dixie![4]

In contrast to Clay Wingate there is Jack Ellyat, Connecticut born, son of a farmer. His parents are in sympathy with John Brown's followers, but Jack has not even a dim

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[3] Stephen Vincent Benet, John Brown's Body (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), p. 56.

[4] Ibid., p. 77.

purpose in his fighting. When he dreams, he dreams of home and peace. The minor characters, also, bring out the inevitable submission of all classes of people to the unreasoning stone. A Pennsylvania farmer, two mountaineers, a negro slave, and such historical figures as Lincoln and Grant are carried along by that force. It brings no happiness to them. They did not seek its influence, but they cannot escape.

Mr. Benet interprets the war as a reality, unreasoning in its course, neither good nor bad, but simply there. The force which carries the people along is part of an ultimate energy expending itself in the war. It is a kind of mystic energy which does not come into man's consciousness.

MacKinlay Kantor's interpretation is somewhat different. His novels dwell primarily on life behind the lines, and the breadth of his view is limited to the experiences of his central characters. Mr. Kantor, who was born at Webster City, Iowa, on February 4, 1904, approached with great seriousness the task of faithfully interpreting the Civil War to the present generation. At the end of Arouse and Beware (1936) he inserts a bibliography of the works that he used in getting material for the novel. Long Remember (1934) is based on the same, or

similar, sources. Mr. Kantor's interest in the war, like Mr. Benet's, has probably been lifelong, for he is a member of the National Association of Civil War Musicians, Sons of Union Veterans. In addition to these two war novels he has written Civil War stories for periodicals.[5]

The theme of Long Remember (1934) is what people did and suffered at Gettysburg because of the Battle of Gettysburg. Mr. Kantor points out that contrary to Lincoln's prediction, we have remembered what he said at Gettysburg and have forgotten what men did there. Mr. Kantor says:

> It is worthy to remark that whatever astuteness Abraham Lincoln possessed as a prophet, was not reflected in his address at Gettysburg, on November 19, 1863. With all sincerity he declared, "The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." Seventy years later one realizes that Lincoln's speech represents the only common and popular knowledge of Lincoln, Gettysburg, or the war between the states.[6]

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[5] His other literary work includes work as a reporter for the Webster City Daily News (1921-1924), advertising and claim correspondence work in Chicago (1925-1926), work as a reporter and free lance writer (1927), work as columnist for Des Moines Tribune (1930-1931), and work as a scenario writer for Paramount Productions (1934). He has written novels, verse, and magazine contributions. On July 2, 1926, he married Florence Irene Layne of Chicago, Illinois. They have two children, Carol Layne and Thomas. Their home is in Westfield, New Jersey. Facts from A. N. Marquis, editor, Who's Who in America, 1936-1937 (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1899-1939).

[6] MacKinlay Kantor, Long Remember (New York: The Literary Guild, 1934), Flyleaf.

Taking his title from Lincoln's speech, Mr. Kantor tries to tell us what we have not remembered. He re-creates the battle as it entered the experience of a small group of fictional characters.

The entire story takes place in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in June and July of 1863. Daniel Bale comes home to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, from Minnesota because of the death of his grandfather. He has not joined the army because he does not believe in killing people for any reason. He is not a Copperhead, although some people in Gettysburg believe that he is. All the other young men in Gettysburg except the Copperheads seem to have joined the army, and Daniel is left in the unenviable position of one who attempts to be different from the crowd. Unfortunately he falls in love with and is most sufficiently encouraged by the wife of a close friend who has gone to the war. Daniel expects Irene Fanning to divorce Tyler Fanning, and if it had not been for the war she might have. Anyhow, Tyler learns of the situation and writes to Irene asking her to let him know at once if the accusation is false. Irene does not answer the letter, and days pass in which she continues her unfaithfulness. Then she begins to have visions of Tyler being killed by a sword. She feels that she cannot let him die believing her unfaithful, and

she sends Daniel Bale to say that the accusation is false and groundless. For her, he does it and even kills a man to carry out her desire. Daniel also helps to bring Tyler home to her when he is wounded, but Daniel still hopes that Irene will give up Tyler and marry him. Irene lived with Tyler's mother and father and that home was the only place to take the wounded man. From then on, however, Irene gives Daniel no more encouragement. She tells him that Tyler's leg has to be amputated, that he will have but one leg, but that still he is her husband. Daniel thinks that if she only possessed sufficient courage she would leave Tyler and go away with him. But Irene stays with Tyler, and Daniel goes to join the army. The war had made Irene faithful to her husband. Tyler had to have some one's approval. He preferred a woman's love to the community's respect, but losing the former he did that which would bring him the latter.

Outstanding among the minor characters are Dr. Adam Duffey, Elijah Huddlestone, and Amelia Niede. Dr. Duffey is the typical small town doctor with all his common sense, sympathy, and personal interest in his patients. He sees Dan's trouble in his face and tries to help him, but Dan will not confide in anyone. During and after the Battle of Gettysburg Dr. Duffey attends the wounded sol-

diers, sometimes with Dan's help. Elijah Huddlestone represents the type of boy whose heart and soul are tied up in being a soldier. He is poor and physically handicapped, but fighting for the Union is glorious to him. He is in love with Amelia Niede, a rather colorless girl, and had Elijah not been killed they would have married. Elijah and Dan were friends from childhood and during the trying events of the story they help each other as much as they can. At last Dan finds Elijah's body and buries it. One other minor character should be mentioned -- Quagger, a Copperhead. He is the one who tells Tyler about Irene and Dan. He does it because Dan knocked him down for calling him a Copperhead.

The war is interpreted in Long Remember (1934) as an influence on the lives of these fictional characters. In addition, there are descriptions of warfare as realistic as any ever written. In this novel there is neither sectionalism, nor politics, nor justification of the war, nor condemnation of it. Long Remember (1934) gives a psychologically realistic picture of the effect of the Battle of Gettysburg on a few people.

Arouse and Beware (1936) is a psychologically realistic account of the escape of three people, two men and one woman, from Richmond to the Union lines, an escape

which took place between March 3, 1864, and March 12, 1864. The men were escaping from Belle Island Prison, and the woman, from a Confederate general. The background gives a true picture of certain phases of life during the Civil War: the doings of the Home Guards, the work of the Underground Railroad in helping white Loyalists to escape, the life of cowards and injured men, who were not fighting, and the terrible suffering in prison.

The title, "Arouse and Beware," has a double significance. It characterizes the life of the escaping characters and it also refers to an incident in their personal relations which is recorded in the second book of the novel. Mr. Kantor gives the following as the source of his title and story:

> In that nightmare realm of reality which novelists visit in search of persons and circumstances wholly unreal, the author discovered this tale written in two large discarded daybooks. It bore every evidence of having been set down painfully and carefully, but at white heat of enthusiasm, through a period of years. The caption was "Oliver Clark's Journal of Events Occurring during the Month of March, 1864, and during his Escape from Richmond to the Federal army lines in North Central Virginia." However, scribbled in lead pencil on a neighboring page, the author found a quotation from Whitman's Song of the Banner at Daybreak, certain words of which lent themselves more readily to a purpose of title than did the somewhat awkward designation Oliver Clark has inscribed.

Mr. Kantor also gives the quotation from Whitman:

> I'll weave the chord and twine in,
> Man's desire and babe's desire -- I'll twine them in, I'll put in life; . . .
> (As one carrying a symbol and menace far into the future,
> Crying with trumpet voice, Arouse and Beware!
> Beware and arouse!)

The novel is divided into three books whose titles are also taken from Whitman -- "Babe's Desire," "Man's Desire," and "The Symbol and the Menace."

As for the characters there are the three central characters already referred to and several minor ones. The central characters are Oliver Clark, Prentice Barstow, and Naomi Kincaid. Oliver Clark is an educated Yankee of the First New Jersey Cavalry. He tells the story, and we are left with the impression that he will marry Naomi Kincaid. Prentice Barstow is an uneducated Yankee whose home was Iowa and who belonged to the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. He helps Clark to escape from Belle Island, and, although he wants to marry Naomi, he, in the end, sacrifices his own life in order that Clark and Naomi may reach the Union lines in safety. Naomi Kincaid is a Southern girl about twenty years old. She has been educated informally by a talented but impractical father who taught music and French and who captured butterflies and made trays and the like with their wings. Naomi is a strong character throughout the story. The minor charac-

ters may be mentioned briefly. There is Colonel Stanislas Mokranowski, the Confederate officer from whom Naomi escaped. There is a raider, bent on crime, who is murdered by Barstow as he enters a house where the three refugees are taking shelter. There are the Home Guards composed of careless, thoughtless, inefficient young boys and somewhat more efficient older men. There is Henry Carpenter, a Confederate, who releases the refugees because Barstow has avenged the crime committed in his home. There is Mr. Vestry, a man who helps Union prisoners or sympathizers to escape to the Underground Railroad. The other characters are: Johnson Tillingbee and his wife Entreaty, Confederates, who, nevertheless, help Clark, Barstow, and Naomi; Deaton Jones, a coward hiding from the war, who also helps the refugees; Uncle Deaton, a man insane as a result of his life in a Federal prison; and a negro slave called Yellow Boy, who tries to poison the refugees and does poison Barstow.

The plot of <u>Arouse and Beware</u> is briefly this: Clark and Barstow escape from Belle Island Prison and start their journey to the Union lines. Almost at once they meet Naomi, who is also fleeing from Richmond. The three go on together. That is the first book, "Babe's Desire." The desire was simply for safety. Book II,

"Man's Desire," shows that as safety becomes more certain a desire to marry Naomi arises in both men. She skillfully preserves peace, however, by a strong, impersonal, and impartial attitude toward her two companions. In Book III, "The Symbol and the Menace," Barstow decides that Clark is the better match for Naomi, and, when a crisis arises, he sacrifices his own life to let Naomi and Clark complete their attempted escape successfully.

In this novel Mr. Kantor interprets the war by describing with psychological realism, the experiences of three central characters, by bringing into these experiences a group of minor characters who represent phases of the war almost hidden behind the dominant issues of the conflict, and by commenting directly on the war. The first two factors in Mr. Kantor's interpretation have been given. His direct comments, spoken by Oliver Clark, who tells the entire story, are these:

This observation refers to a seemingly uncalled for cheerfulness on the part of the refugees.

> I could feel little surprise at our sudden ignoring of the recent past, the uneasy present, and above all the dark channel of the future. For I had ridden two years under Colonel Sir Percy Syndham, and I had seen whole troops of boys, their throats caked with dust, and bodies racked by the sharp sob of fighting. I had seen them torn and bloodied, covering their brothers and friends with fresh dirt, and going off within the hour to quarrel heartily over scraps of currency in a

> Bluff game, or to pool their resources for brandy-and-peaches at the sutler's.
>
> It is this fearful resiliency of the human soul, this rebounding ability to climb out of the grave and play marbles among the headstones, that gives to war its ghastly permanence, and the certainty that we shall see more people willing for war in years to come.[7]

The following paragraphs refer to their seeing an old man hopelessly insane as a result of mistreatment in a Federal prison.

> Naomi felt only the acid of pity and revulsion, which beset her so that she could hardly speak for hours, and Barstow was angry at what he considered a political falsehood told against the Federals. But I found some grim strength in contemplating the fact that all the sins of a war are not visited by one side upon the other. Mankind as a whole, irrespective of army, is responsible for their instigation.
>
> This is a knowledge not fit to be contained in any polite philosophy; . . .[8]

When the three Yankees are befriended by a Confederate soldier who had been injured too badly to permit him to fight, Clark says: "I wondered whether the same childishness which made men in mass to be enemies, and men singly to be valued as friends, would persist when the years lay like thick sod above us all."[9]

Mr. Kantor, in Arouse and Beware (1936) says that,

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[7] M. Kantor, Arouse and Beware (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1936), p. 67.

[8] Ibid., p. 269.

human nature being what it is, we will always have wars.

In Royce Brier's Boy in Blue (1937) the war is explained as a money war, as a war between the slave system and the industrial system.

Boyce Brier was born in River Falls, Wisconsin, in 1896. He dedicated Boy in Blue to his father, Warren Judson Brier (1850-1928), a well known Wisconsin educator. Mr. Royce Brier spent three years in writing his Civil War novel. He made two trips to the Tennessee battlefields, and walked over the many miles on the Chickamauga field followed by Robert Thane, his central character in the novel.[10]

The theme of Boy in Blue (1937) is the effect of the war on Robert Thane, an ignorant Indiana farm boy. The novel begins after the Battle of Manassas and ends before the close of the war. Eighteen-year-old Robert Thane is disappointed in his first love affair and joins

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[9] Ibid., pp. 227-228.

[10] Mr. Royce Brier was born on April 18, 1896, and was educated in public schools and at the University of Wisconsin. He was first employed by the San Francisco Chronicle. In 1934 he won the Pulitzer Prize for reporting for his coverage of the lynching of Holmes and Thurmond, Brooke Hart kidnappers. -- Biographical facts from book cover of the D. Appleton Century Company edition of Boy in Blue and from an item in the New York Times, May 8, 1934.

the 157th Indiana Infantry, hoping to be killed. He is wounded in a battle in Tennessee and is nursed by an educated Southern girl who awakens in him a desire to learn to spell and a desire to read the masterpieces of literature. A wholesome love, unlike the first one, grows between them. After a time Robert returns to the army and is again wounded, this time so severely that the doctor says it will be necessary to remove one foot. At first, Ann Countiss, the Southern girl, refuses to let it be done; she had heard that many legs were being cut off without sufficient cause. Having taken for granted that Ann was Robert's wife, the doctors respect her wishes. Then, suddenly, she withdraws her objections, Robert consents, and the operation is performed. Robert's consolation is that he and Ann will be married as soon as it is possible, and Ann's consolation is that without his foot the army could never take him away from her again.

This wartime love story is told against a realistic background of army life and of life in the rural districts of Indiana where Robert lived. Mr. Brier creates a wartime atmosphere by conversations and by descriptions of dances, of parades, of railroad yards when soldiers are departing or returning, of the telegraph office after the rumor of a battle has reached the people, and of the utter

misery of the soldiers on long marches, in battles, and in inadequate shelters. This background is peopled by minor characters who supply a variety of attitudes toward the war. Robert's father, an ignorant farmer and a stern believer in the Bible, is an abolitionist, a firm Unionist, and as good a man as he knows how to be. His brother, Gideon Thane, a man of broader experience, is so far from being a good Unionist that he is suspected of being a Copperhead. These two men give us two explanations of the war from a stay-at-home angle. John Thane believes the war to be a holy war against slavery; Gideon calls it a money war.

"Who's to fault?" John asks Gideon

> "Nobody. It's just two ways of life, and comes the time, one has to grind the other in the dust. That's all any war ever was . . ." He paused, thinking he had been temperate in his remarks. Two ways of life -- who could deny that? But there was an enlarged pulse in John Thane's thick neck.
>
> He had truly been lying in wait for Gideon. "I know them milk-sop words. Weak as water-gruel, say I. All wars! You say a war to put down human slavery is twin to a war to give some parysite King more money? You come to my house and tell me that?"
>
> "Oh, I grant you it's a more popular war than some, John, so'll be accounted more righteous than some. As for human slavery, there's too few who hold with you on that, to make this war. You'll concede there's a sight more ready to fight with precious leetle consarn for Rastus and mighty big consarn for keeping this Union geared to their way of life.

> "The point I make is that all wars, you b'il 'em right down are money wars . . ."
>
> "If you wa'n't my own blood, you'd git -- I wouldn't nary suffer you to set there -- talkin' blasphemy -- talkin' human slavery's a money matter -- God in His wisdom spares you, Gid -- He don't strike you dead -- He's a mers'ful God . . ." John Thane lifted his head, he closed his eyes.[11]

John and Gideon Thane are the most important minor characters in the rural Indiana district. Outstanding among the minor characters Robert meets in the Army is Maury Coldiron. Coldiron is "nearing twenty-six . . . had been a tramp printer . . . had worked on the New York Tribune and the Herald . . . had talked with Greeley and Bennett and . . . had seen Laura Keene in a carriage."[12] Coldiron's remarks about the war usually resemble this one: "A man could write a whole novel about Shiloh if he set himself to it, a novel of stupidity and frustration."[13]

Robert's opinions of the war, in contrast to his father's, are something like this:

> Holy war! Who thought so? No one in the 157th or the Fourth Brigade or the Army. No. The country had got itself into a peck of trouble and no one knew how to get out of it. . . . What man was there in Company "K" who would lift a finger for a damned nigger?

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[11] Royce Brier, Boy in Blue (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1937), pp. 6-7.

[12] Ibid., p. 78.

[13] Ibid., p. 79.

> Who thought Generals won wars? Why the big tubs sat in offices or fine houses, or in their own railroad cars, drinking whisky punch, smoking cigars and looking at maps.[14]

Other than this opinion, the war is to Robert one long, continuous stretch of rain, cold, hunger, pain, and weariness -- all over something, whatever it is, that is nonsense.

Robert's attitude toward the war, together with the panoramic picture which Boy in Blue (1937) presents, is Royce Brier's interpretation of the American Civil War.

The last of the Northern interpretations is Action at Aquila (1938) by Hervey Allen. Mr. Allen has had actual war experience. In 1916 he was a Second Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Infantry on the Mexican Border, and in 1917 and 1918 he was a First Lieutenant in the 111th Infantry, 28th Division, A.E.F. He was seriously wounded during August, 1918, and was sent back to America.[15]

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[14] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[15] Mr. Allen was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 8, 1889, and received his elementary education in that city. He attended the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1910 and 1911, but he resigned without graduating to enter the University of Pittsburgh where he received a B.S. in Economics in 1915. Since the World War he has attended Harvard, has taught English in a Charleston, South Carolina, high school and at Columbia University, and has lectured at Vassar College. He has been active in awakening an interest in poetry throughout the South. Facts from Living Authors.

The theme of Action at Aquila is that war will be eternal, that human beings will never remember the horrors of war long enough to prevent another war. Mr. Allen develops his theme by interpreting the American Civil War from the point of view of a central character who remembers the Mexican War, is a Colonel in the Civil war, and lives to see the outbreak of the Spanish American War. The central character is Colonel Nathaniel Franklin of the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Colonel Franklin, according to Mr. Allen, is not typical of his period. He looks at the war as a disinterested observer might have looked at it, although he is a soldier.

Mr. Allen begins with the autumn of 1864 in recording Colonel Franklin's wartime experiences. The experiences include relations with the people of Philadelphia, a parade in honor of the State Fencibles who were leaving for the South, a visit to Buchanan, the burning of a Confederate's home, actual fighting, and hospital life. At the beginning of Action at Aquila (1938) Colonel Franklin is riding on horseback from Philadelphia back to his army in Virginia. His first and only furlough is nearing its end. We learn what has happened before his furlough from his reverie which covers 180 pages of the novel. Then we follow him to the end of the war. The last chapter jumps

about thirty years and brings the novel to an end with the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and with the Colonel's death.

The war is interpreted, with the familiar background, as a necessary means to a necessary end -- the preservation of the Union. However, the war is not interpreted as anything that should inspire flag waving and patriotic speeches. Colonel Franklin knows that the horror of the war will be forgotten, that "how men felt" will be forgotten, and that the same stupid flag waving will characterize another war. Colonel Franklin is old enough to know that the horror of the Mexican War faded, and he lives to see the horror of the Civil War fade, too. Just before he dies, he sees flag waving again at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Mr. Allen seems to say that no war will be horrible enough to teach human beings a lasting lesson of peace. Mr. Kantor said the same thing in one statement,[16] although he did not make it the theme of his novel as Mr. Allen has done.

Each of these Northern interpretations of the Civil War places central characters, who are soldiers or have been close to actual warfare and care little about the

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[16] See pages 135 and 136 of this thesis.

issues of the war, against a panoramic background peopled by characters who indicate that there was intense partisanship in the country although it was not shared by the soldiers. The greater part of each novel dwells on a very disagreeable, realistic, unromantic picture of the war. There is a beginning of the economic interpretation which explains the war as a conflict between two ways of living.

The Southern fiction emphasizes this economic explanation still more than the Northern by repeatedly interpreting the war as something which destroyed the Southern civilization. There are at least three attitudes toward this destruction. The novelists accept it as a fact, consider it a misfortune, or show the kind of people who were not defeated when the world around them was destroyed.

The earliest Southern novel is Marching On (1927) by James Boyd. Mr. Boyd was born on July 2, 1888, in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, but he moved to North Carolina, the home of his earlier ancestors, when he was thirteen years old.[17] The principal scene of Marching On (1927) is North Carolina.

The theme of the novel is the change in the social

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[17] Biographical facts from Living Authors.

and economic conditions of the planter aristocracy and the white farmers, a change which was brought about in the South by the Civil War. The title refers literally to the seemingly endless marching of one company of soldiers, but I think that it refers also to the marching of the Old South through the Civil War to a change in social and economic conditions. To develop this theme Boyd chose for his hero the son of a non-slave-owning North Carolina farmer and for his heroine the daughter of a wealthy planter. At the beginning of the story the hero is presumptuous in dreaming of marrying the heroine. James Fraser, the hero, comes of a good family, but without money they cannot buy slaves and without slaves they cannot make a great deal of money. Therefore, the education and luxurious home necessary to high social standing are beyond him. Nevertheless he falls in love with the planter's daughter, leaves the farm to become a railroad mechanic, returns to enlist in the army, fights, spends three years in prison, returns home ill, recovers, and marries the planter's daughter instead of going to fire a last shot at the Yankees. By 1865 the economic superiority of the planter class was gone. The social superiority was almost wiped out because the education of the once wealthy Southerners was not adequate to enable them to

make money in the changed South. James Fraser's experience as a railroad mechanic was more valuable. The war had brought about the change.

The minor characters, chosen from many walks of life, give the usual panoramic background. There are planters, non-slave owning Southern farmers, Crackers, professional men, politicians, slaves, the city working class, and soldiers.

James Boyd's interpretation of the effect of the war is given by his theme. His explanation of its cause seems to be the Southerners' hatred of Yankees. The minor characters pile up this evidence and send James Fraser to war hating Yankees. Their opinions are expressed thus: Tom Magruder, one of his neighbors, said:

> Why, dog my cats, if these Abolitionists ain't the meanest kind of scoun'rels. . . . Suppose I tolled one of your shoats up into my hogpen and then wouldn't give him back. . . . You'd say I was a thief, wouldn't you?[18]

An old planter said:

> I expect I'll be ahead of you in mixing into the fracas. But not because I expect it to benefit the South -- In fact, it will likely ruin her -- but because I consider Yankees sanctimonious, illbred, meddlesome, mean, and chicken-livered, and would be mighty glad of a chance to show my feelings. . . .
>
> I'm not fooled like most folks by talk of prosperi-

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[18] J. Boyd, Marching On (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 79.

> ty and Southern rights. . . . I just plumb hate the Yankees.[19]

In Wilmington, North Carolina, the mechanics in the railroad yard told with contempt stories of Yankees' close dealing in money matters. The boss mechanic concluded with this remark:

> "They's one way to get ahead of a Yankee." The others listened with respectful attention. The boss mechanic closed a big, white, greasy fist. "Show him that. He'll quit his foolishness quick enough." They nodded grave approval.[20]

Mr. and Mrs. Torker who kept the boarding house where James stayed in Wilmington hated the Yankees. Major Cassius Pettibone, a former clerk of the court, explained how the Yankee tariff and Yankee manufacturers made money on Southerners' cotton.[21] James Fraser's hatred of the Yankees was built up by the boy's observations, experiences, and associations with various classes of people in North Carolina.

In describing actual warfare, Mr. Boyd is realistic and unromantic. His title, "Marching On," as I have said, refers literally to the seemingly endless marching of James Fraser's company. There is nothing glamorous in

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[19] Ibid., p. 177.

[20] Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[21] Ibid., p. 161.

any of Mr. Boyd's descriptions of the war.

Marching On (1927) interprets the war realistically, from the point of view of an ordinary soldier, and with a panoramic background. The thing which made the South willing to fight was, according to this novel, hatred for the Yankees. The effect of the war, according to Boyd, was a levelling of social classes in the South. James Boyd's final verdict in his interpretation of the Civil War seems to be, "It happened. It had to be. But, there was nothing real to fight for." At least that is James Fraser's opinion. Slavery and states' rights were not worth the fight, and Yankees personally were not what he thought they were. At the end of the war James Fraser does not hate Yankees.

In The Wave (1929) Evelyn Scott calls the war an unreasoning force, as Mr. Benet did. However, Evelyn Scott substitutes mob psychology for John Brown's body in explaining the unreasoning force which carries everyone with it in a manner comparable to the action of a real wave. The novel is a series of psychological analyses of human beings of all classes in both North and South, beginning with the excitement over Fort Sumter and ending with the return of the soldiers after the war.

Evelyn Scott, who was born in 1893 in Clarksville,

Tennessee, who spent her early years in New Orleans, and who has since lived in foreign countries, spent two years in collecting material for The Wave (1929). She gives the following explanation of her title:

> Whatever the philosophy of an actor in a war, he must constantly be convinced of his feebleness when attempting to move in an emotional direction contrary to that of the mass. This propulsion of the individual by a power that is not accountable to reason is very obviously like the action of a wave.[22]

On a flyleaf at the beginning of The Wave (1929) there is this quotation concerning genuine waves:

> The water of the ocean is never still. It is blown into waves by the wind, it rises and falls with the tides. . . . The waves travel in some definite direction, but a cork thrown into the water does not travel with the waves. It moves up and down, to and fro, but unless it is blown by the wind or carried by a current it returns to the same position with each wave and does not permanently leave its place. . . . In deep water the motion of the particle at the surface (of the wave) is nearly circular. At the crest the movement of the particle is forward, at the middle of the hinder slope it is downward, in the trough backward, and at the middle of the front slope upward . . . waves have very little effect excepting near the surface . . . when a wave approaches a shelving shore it keeps its form as a wave until it is near the land and then the top falls forward and the wave breaks. This is due in part to the fact that the wave travels more slowly as the water becomes shallower . . . When the water is deep close up to the shore, the waves, if they break at all . . . appear to throw themselves against the cliff . . . and the water dashes . . . some times to a very great height. Physical Geography, by Philip Lake, M.A.

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[22] Biographical facts from Living Authors.

The theme of the novel is the effect of the American Civil War on the people who experienced it. The characters include soldiers, stay-at-homes, slaves, free negroes, historical leaders, rich people, poor people, and, in short, just about every type of person in this country in the 1860's. There are more than sixty separate narratives grouped into twenty chapters. The plots of the narratives, each of which has its own characters, deal with almost as many subjects as there are narratives. Except for the chronological order in which references to war are made, the reader would feel that the novel was getting nowhere. There is no development, no change, in the experiences of the people. I think that Miss Scott's purpose was to show the people being tossed about by the war, but not progressing in any direction. The people are like the cork in the waves, which the quotation from the geography refers to.

One story shows the effect of the war on Jamie, a nine-year-old Virginia boy, the oldest child in a family of seven. Because Jamie was a problem to his mother, he was spending a year in Charleston with his aunt and uncle. The war had given Jamie a craving for excitement and a yearning to be something big. One morning he and a little friend pretended that they were fighting against Yankees.

They were near the burning Charleston cotton sheds which General Hardee had ordered destroyed. That Jamie had been forbidden to go there did not disturb him. He liked the scene.

> Jamie was in rare spirits. He had long felt irritation in being relegated to the fringes of the war, and now, in defiance of his mournful, careful mother, was elatedly convinced that he had found the thick of it.[23]

The very fact that he was doing wrong and would be punished made him more reckless. Finding some kegs of powder by the railroad station, Jamie examined them curiously. He thought:

> And this was the stuff that had made the war. He felt it voluptuously upon his finger. This was the magic that had killed his father. Happy, fearful in his self-engagement, he glanced doubtfully at it.[24]

Then an idea came to him:

> Quick, Ted, I'm gonta make a trail of this to where that cotton's burnin'. Come on. Get a handful. I bet when those Yankee gunboats hear the rumpus we make, they'll go steamin'.[25]

The excitement grew, and they carried handful after handful of the powder. Ted was fearful but--

> Jamie didn't reflect, would not reflect. Powder, powder, more and more powder. It would be like

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[23] E. Scott, The Wave (New York: The Literary Guild of America, 1929), p. 460.

[24] Ibid., p. 464.

[25] Ibid., p. 465.

> Gettysburg, he thought. He had heard his uncle, Major Lawrence, extol that battle. Or, We'll make more noise than the Confederate army at Manassas did![26]

Jamie thought that if his uncle wanted to punish him this time there would be something big to punish him for.

> There was a hunger in him to be something, to do something. Grown-ups had all the fun in the war. If they expected him not to care what happened, they shouldn't talk so much. Ted said, "What if a lot of people got hurt, Jamie?" and considered himself, abashedly. Jamie answered, his eyes growing large and hard with wonder, "Y'all oughta be a Yankee, Ted. If you do your duty and have sho' 'nough spunk you don't need to think. I wouldn't be in any old army if I couldn't be the biggest general."[27]

Finally the powder caught fire, but there was no explosion, only a drizzling sound. Jamie was depressed. And, then, the roar came. Jamie's disappointment changed to fright, to joy, and finally to a belief that after this glory life would not be worth living.

> The reverberations, coming so instantly upon a flat submission to disappointment, left both boys densely uncomprehending. Jamie pressed flat to a fence, sensed himself rigid against inanimate tremblings. His blue eyes, stern, as he received a blow, filled quickly with excited tears. His heart leaped like a mad thing springing from his chest. He was 'scared to death.' Then, under a flood of rapid feeling, he felt his accomplishment. "We did it. We did it. I did the most, Ted. Goody, goody! I'll bet the depot's burnin' too."
>
> Nothing comparable had ever occurred before. It was an exhausting ecstasy. Mystically, the glory drew

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[26] Ibid., p. 465.

[27] Ibid., p. 466.

> him. Bruising himself on the walls, he ran swiftly, to be nearer, nearer. He did not quite dare reach the place. No, he would rather go the other way. He wanted to flee to a remoteness from all the dull sounds, where nobody would ever find him. After this, life would hardly be worth living. He could think of almost nothing more to do with it. Everything in the world seemed to have happened in a minute.[28]

In this manner Evelyn Scott shows all manner of people being tossed by the "wave."

Stark Young, in So Red the Rose (1934), returns to the economic interpretation of the war. He feels that the Civil War destroyed a desirable civilization. Stark Young, writer, poet, teacher, traveler, born in Como, Mississippi, on October 11, 1881, has in his make-up a love of the South and of the aristocratic civilization of the Old South. This love was probably fostered by his education at the University of Mississippi, which he entered when he was little more than fourteen because the school at home had been closed. The faculty of the University of Mississippi was then composed of gentlemen of the Old South, impoverished by the Civil War.[29]

So Red the Rose (1934) is a sympathetic picture of the effects of the Civil War on the South and particularly on the people of two Mississippi plantations. Malcolm

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[28] Ibid., p. 467.

[29] Biographical facts from Living Authors.

Bedford, the master of Portobello plantation, and Hugh McGehee, the master of Montrose plantation, are brothers-in-law, each having married the other's sister. Malcolm's wife had died childless, however, and he had married again. So harmoniously did the second wife fit into the family that she named her first little girl for her dead predecessor. The hero of the story is Duncan Bedford, twenty-one years old and at the University of Virginia when the story begins. The heroine is Julia Valette Somerville, the child of a friend in New Orleans. Duncan enlists in the Southern army, fights, is imprisoned, and finally returns to marry Valette. Malcolm goes to war, returns with typhoid fever, and dies. Hugh McGehee and his family fare still worse in the war. Their home is burned, their son is killed, and their daughter's sweetheart is killed. Hugh McGehee, however, survives the conflict and it is through him and his conversations with Duncan that Mr. Young interprets the external effects of the war.

In the beginning Hugh McGehee was a slave-owner, not because he wanted to be, but because he was and did not know what to do about it. He favored the Union before the war, but in the war he supported the South. He recognized the war as a conflict between industrialism and the planter civilization.

> . . . He saw the war only as in the line that had begun in England with the Industrial Revolution and was moving onward toward its peak. This planter civilization had been in the way of it, and had to be destroyed. Just that.[30]

But Hugh McGehee was not certain of the merits of industrialism. He believed that slavery was a necessary evil, a price to be paid for a civilization worth having:

> " . . . Have you noticed the parallel between the cases for democracy and for slavery? Or, perhaps you judge as Horatio says, ''twere to consider too curiously to consider so.'"
>
> "What, Uncle?" Duncan said.
>
> "Well, this: democracy, a good theory, a great human right, which works out none too well; slavery, a bad theory, a great human wrong, which works out none too badly. I endorsed democracy, I condemned slavery; and here I am with my house burned down and my colored people free, deceived with false promises, mixed up and robbed. Mr. Mack and his crew [carpet baggers] won't consume me, but that's only because he hasn't brains enough and hasn't enough life behind him. If I were mean, I reckon, I'd have to laugh about that: these men just haven't enough life behind them to match me. I mean by 'life' tradition, forefathers and a system of living. Don't laugh at me for a professor or some common editor; but these people make you want to explain things you'd always taken for granted. When you begin to explain things you've always taken for granted, you've already begun to lose them. Still I have to laugh. It's as if I stood on the ground and they didn't."[31]

Hugh McGehee admits that the planters are out of the way for a time, but he does not think that the South has been

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[30] Stark Young, So Red the Rose (New York: Scribner, 1934), p. 396.

[31] Ibid., pp. 394-395.

helped.

> "So they got us out of the way," he went on to Duncan, "for a time, till they break their own necks. I'm not saying we had the most desirable society, or that men should go back to it; I'm only saying give them three generations now and they'll have ashes in their mouths. At least we had some degree of peace and stability for a while; but that must not be endured, no. Now ours is demolished, we'll see where the other will end, and the society it develops, if it develops anything that can be called a society."[32]

Mr. Young interprets the war as a step in the Industrial Revolution, but with no optimism as to its results.

Margaret Mitchell deals both with the things which the war destroyed and with the people who survived. Miss Mitchell was born and still lives in Atlanta, Georgia, where the scene of Gone with the Wind (1936) is laid. Concerning the choice of the Civil War as a subject for fiction, Miss Mitchell says:

> "I chose the Civil War period to write about because I was raised on it. As a child I listened for hours on Sunday afternoons to the horror of Sherman's approach, his final arrival and the burning and looting, and the roads to Macon. And I heard about Reconstruction. In fact, I heard everything except that the Confederates lost the war. When I was ten years old, it was a violent shock to learn that General Lee had been licked. And I thought it had all happened just a few years before I was born."[33]

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[32] Ibid., p. 396.

[33] Margaret Mitchell, "Margaret Mitchell," Wilson Bulletin, 11:12, September, 1936.

Both Miss Mitchell's parents were authorities on Southern history and natives of Atlanta. Her grandparents had cotton plantations in the vicinity of Atlanta before the town was built.[34]

The theme of Gone with the Wind is, according to the author, that of survival. She adds:

> " . . . What was it that made some of our Southern people able to come through a War, a Reconstruction, and a complete wrecking of the social and economic system? I don't know. I only know that the survivors used to call that quality 'gumption.' So I wrote about the people who had gumption and the people who didn't."[35]

The title of the novel refers to the Southern social system; the "wind" was the Civil War.

The central character is Scarlett O'Hara of Tara Plantation, the belle of the county in which she lived, headstrong, spoiled, and selfish. The one thing she really loved was Tara, the plantation, and for it she lied, slaved, and married twice. Opposite Scarlett is Rhett Butler, a blockade runner, who in his way of living is as unscrupulous as Scarlett. He comes through the war with money, and for that reason Scarlett marries him, the third husband whom she does not love. Her first husband, a boy

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[34] Biographical facts are from the article in the Wilson Bulletin, September, 1936, cited in footnote 33.

[35] Mitchell, loc. cit.

who two months later was killed in the war, she married on the rebound after losing the man she wanted to another girl. The second and third husbands she married for money, although when it was too late she decided that she loved Rhett Butler. The other characters are the conventional Southern ladies and gentlemen, for whom the world died at Appomattox.

Miss Mitchell interprets the war as a wind which swept away the Old South. The people who survived were the people who changed.[36]

Clifford Dowdey, in Bugles Blow No More (1937), also has for his theme the demoralizing and wrecking of the South by the Civil War. Mr. Dowdey, who was born in Richmond, Virginia, on January 23, 1904, has made historical study his hobby. He received his college education at Columbia University and has been employed in newspaper

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[36] The following item concerning Gone with the Wind is interesting:

> To most of its U. S. readers, Gone With the Wind is straight historical romance. Foreigners like it almost as much, but judge it differently. Now published in 14 countries, with sales reaching 184,000 in England, 6,000 in Hungary, 4,750 in Chile, it has made its biggest sensation outside the U. S. in Nazi Germany, which has bought 134,000 copies. Nazi highbrows, calling it irresistible, found it an attack on "plundering mercantile Yankee capitalism" and on democracy. Said Das Innere Reich, leading Nazi literary journal, "We see the fall and death of the old aristocrats, the rise of the parvenus, the uncultured, and

work.[37]

Bugles Blow No More (1937) starts on Secession Night and ends with Lee's surrender. The scene is Richmond. On Secession Night Mildred Wade, the heroine and a Richmond aristocrat, sees and is attracted by Brose Kirby, her father's clerk who is definitely below her socially. Even in his own class Brose is known as an uncontrollable young man, as "a black 'un." But the excitement of the war was in Mildred and all the entreaties of her family could not stop her from longing to see Brose again. When her father left for the war, she promised him that as long as he lived she would not see Brose; but her father was killed, and in December, 1862, Brose was sent home wounded. From then on Mildred neither hesitated nor tried to hide her love for Brose. She explains:

> " . . . It was different when people's lives went on in security. Then they were bound to family ties and duties that stretched back into the past. Now we have no past. As you said, we have only today."[38]

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the Negroes, hitherto wisely controlled." Her German publishers send Margaret Mitchell regular royalty statements but pay her no cash. -- Time, 33:91, April 24, 1939.

[37] Biographical facts from Durward Howes, editor, America's Young Men of 1938-1939 (Los Angeles, California: American Publications, Inc., 1938).

[38] Clifford Dowdey, Bugles Blow No More (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), p. 220.

After a time Mildred and Brose were married, and three months later their baby was born and died. At the end of the war they have nothing except their love and a doubtful courage to go on living. This love story is accompanied by a realistic picture of wartimes in Richmond.

None Shall Look Back (1937) by Caroline Duff-Gordon (Mrs. Allen Tate), another picture of the destruction of the Old South, resembles So Red the Rose (1934) more than any other of these novels. Mrs. Tate, born on October 6, 1895, has spent most of her life in Clarksville, Tennessee, where she now lives with her husband on land that has been in her family for generations. She is, on both sides, originally from Virginia stock. Her people have been planters and country lawyers since early colonial days. Although in Clarksville she finds the atmosphere and much material for her best work, she has done newspaper work in New York and has spent several years in France.[39]

The theme of None Shall Look Back (1937) is the death of the civilization of the Old South and the birth of a hitherto despised industrial civilization. The title

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[39] Biographical facts from book cover of Charles Scribner's Sons 1937 edition of None Shall Look Back and from Stanley J. Kunitz, editor, "Caroline Gordon," Wilson Bulletin, 12:10, September, 1937.

implies that the surviving Southerners will go on into the new civilization without looking back to the old. There is this quotation at the beginning of the book:

> Stand, stand, shall they cry; but none shall look back.
>
> Nahum, Chapter II, V. 8.

The home of the heroine is in Kentucky, on a tobacco plantation. The story follows the war in the western part of the South. The battles of Donaldson and Chickamauga and the exploits of Forrest are described.

The central characters are Rives Allard, of Georgia, a cousin of the Kentucky Allards and a scout under Forrest and Lucy Churchill, an orphan grand-daughter of Fontaine Allard, the Kentucky tobacco planter. The minor characters are relatives and army men.

The story begins with a birthday dinner in honor of Fontaine Allard's sixty-fifth birthday. Ned, his son, and two cousins, George Rowan and Rives Allard, come home from school to go to war. The conversation inevitably turns to the war, and although the young people try to treat the subject lightly, the older people are worried. Typical opinions are expressed:

> Captain Leffingwell: " . . . When the country's at war a man's got to take sides."
>
> Fontaine Allard: " . . . A man's got to take sides . . . At least he's got to take a stand. But

these people 'way down south are different from us. I was down there in '55 visiting Cousin Joe. I often think of it. . . . Why there was one fellow, Old Man Trotter Simpson's son, raised right here in Todd County, Kentucky, on hog and hominy, like all the Simpsons. Why, that fellow -- I made Joe drive me in to see his place one day just out of curiosity. He was living in a mansion with six thousand acres of good cotton land, waited on hand and foot by negroes and all bought with two years' cotton crops Joe told me."

Captain Leffingwell nodded. "It's a rich country. I saw'em plowing in the fields and water splashing high as a mule's knee. Can't cake the land they tell me. Too fat."

"That's it," old Mr. McLean said testily. "It's too rich. Now this country, we been a long time building it up. Those fellows down there got rich too quick and it's gone to their heads. If somebody don't hold them down they'll ruin the country."

Leffingwell: "It don't matter how rich they are or what they raise. They're all fighting for one thing. Freedom . . ."[40]

Then, through Rives' thoughts we see him at school, escaping from the dormitories after the lights were out to go to hear Charley Button tell the boys how to enlist as Rangers. Colonel Forrest had promised to take Rives, George, and Ned later. Then the boys came home. After listening to the conversations of the older men:

All this talk about slavery, the tariff, the Hartford Convention of 1815 when the east had wanted to secede from the Union, even the discussions of the methods of warfare confused him, took away from the exaltation he had felt at the thought of going to war.

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[40] Caroline Duff-Gordon, None Shall Look Back (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), pp. 8-11.

> With an effort he found his way back to that feeling. No, it was not a question of slavery -- his own family, for instance, did not think it right to own slaves -- and he did not understand all this business about the tariff. He thought with a kind of obstinateness that it was really just as that Colonel Forrest said. Our country had been invaded -- it did not much matter on what grounds the invader had come. . . . The country had been invaded. Men were wanted for her defense. He was glad to go.[41]

Rives goes to war and we follow a realistic account of his experiences. Many Southern leaders figure in the account. In addition to the army life, there is also a realistic picture of the lives of stay-at-homes. We follow the love story of Rives and Lucy who marry and then are separated by Rives' death at the end of the novel. The survivors must go on in a ruined world -- "NONE SHALL LOOK BACK."

William Faulkner, in The Unvanquished (1938), tells about the destruction of the Southern civilization, but, like Margaret Mitchell, he also tells about the survivors. Mr. Faulkner was born in New Albany, Mississippi, September 25, 1897. He received his elementary and high school education in Oxford, Mississippi, and from 1919 to 1921 attended the University of Mississippi.[42]

This background well prepared him to write a series of stories which interpret the Civil War from the point of

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[41] Ibid., p. 25.

[42] Biographical facts from Who's Who in America, 1936-1937.

view of Mississippi plantation people. The theme of the novel is the unfaltering perseverance and resourcefulness of these "unvanquished" Southerners, in dealing practically with the experiences of a war. The central character, Bayard Sartoris, a child of nine at the beginning of the novel, tells the story. Ringo is his negro, his body-servant, and his constant companion. They are the same age. John Sartoris, Bayard's father, leads his own band of Confederate soldiers during the war, and, after the war attempts to destroy the Reconstruction government with the sword. He lives "by the sword" and dies "by the sword." Ringo's mother had died at his birth, and her mother, Rosa Millard or Granny, became the mistress of the Sartoris plantation. When their home is burned by Yankees, Granny sets out in a wagon pulled by two mules to visit relatives in Memphis. She is accompanied by Bayard, Ringo, and two other slaves. Just about all the baggage they take is a chest of silver. The mules, Old Hundred and Tinney, the silver, and the two slaves were stolen or confiscated by Yankee soldiers. Granny, after a time, finds the commanding general and requests her property:

> "Maybe you can describe them," Colonel Dick said to me.
>
> "I will do it," Granny said. She didn't open her eyes. "The chest of silver tied with hemp rope. The

rope was new. Two darkies, Loosh and Philadelphy. The mules, Old Hundred and Tinney."[43]

The request was misunderstood, and when the written order for the return of her property was received, it read thus:

> Field Headquarters
> ...th Army Corps,
> Department of Tennessee
> August 14, 1863.
>
> To all Brigade, Regimental and Other Commanders: You will see that bearer is repossessed in full of the following property, to wit: Ten (10) chests tied with hemp rope and containing silver. One hundred ten (110) mules captured loose near Philadelphia in Mississippi. One hundred ten (110) Negroes of both sexes belonging to and having strayed from the same locality.
>
> You will further see that bearer is supplied with necessary food and forage to expedite passage to his destination.
>
> By order of the General Commanding.[44]

Granny received the full written order and with that beginning carried on a racketeering business in mules which succeeded wonderfully until it finally ended in her death. Ringo and Bayard revenge her death, but years later when Bayard's father is killed, Bayard does not kill the murderer. His father lived and died by the sword, but he himself will not live that way.

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[43] William Faulkner, The Unvanquished (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 125.

[44] Ibid., pp. 127-128.

In Mr. Faulkner's interpretation of Civil War experiences there is a generous amount of humor in connection with the characters of Granny and Ringo. Otherwise there is the familiar picture of suffering and destruction together with a picture of the changes which had to take place in people's consciences if they survived.

The Fathers (1938), the latest Southern interpretation of the war, was written by Allen Tate, a poet and critic, born on November 19, 1899, in Clark County, Kentucky.[45] The Fathers deals with a capitalist and individualist, a person something like Faulkner's Granny who is not defeated by the war. The story is told by Lacy Gore Buchan, who is a boy of fifteen in April, 1860, and is living with his family at Pleasant Hill, a Virginia plantation. His hero is his brother-in-law, George Posey, the individualist. While of good stock originally, the Poseys had fallen below the standards of the social code, and Susan Buchan's family, before the marriage, and Susan herself, after her marriage, regretted her choice. But, that old social order was destroyed by the war and with it all the people who could not change. George Posey can go on in the changed world.

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[45] Biographical facts are from Who's Who in America, 1936-1937.

The story is, briefly, this : On the day before the funeral of Lacy Buchan's mother, George Posey rides off to town instead of staying with his wife and her relatives as social decorum demanded that he should do. Through Lacy's thoughts we see George at various times in the past refusing to conform to the manners of the times. Then, Lacy's father comes into the story, and the reader gathers that he is neither a lover of slavery nor a believer in all the evils attributed to the system. In a passive way he is a Union man. However, he does not want the seceding states suppressed by war. Major Buchan cannot grasp the situation, but George Posey does. He gains control of the Buchan property, not to take it from them, but to save it for them. By wise business transactions as well as by blockade running, George Posey comes through the war with money. However, George is so unlike Susan's family that she finds it almost worse than death to be his wife. To prevent one of her brothers from marrying George's younger sister, Susan forces the sister into a convent. Then, Susan's hair turns white and she loses her mind. Lacy's father allows himself to be hanged when a confession of loyalty to the Union might have saved him. At the end of the story George leaves the army for misconduct, and Lacy goes on with the army to finish what his hero could not

finish.

The title of the book refers to George Posey's father, whose brutality and viciousness had much to do with his son's individualism, and to Lacy Buchan's father and others like him in the South, who could not deal practically with the problems facing them. These "fathers" are the basis of Mr. Tate's psychological and economic interpretation of the war. Perhaps there is an allusion intended to Ezekiel 18:2:

> . . . The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. . . .

To sum up: The preceding period, 1900-1919, began with historical romances which idealized the history of the Civil War and ended with historical romances which plead for wars to cease. This evident disillusionment forms the connecting link between that fiction and the fiction since 1920. Novelists again turned their attention to people instead of politics. From 1920 to 1939 the literary interest in the Civil War has again been psychological. There are differences, however, between this period and that of Bierce and Crane. Naturalism and industrialism replaced the realism and sentimentalism of

the earlier psychological period, and the outlook has been social rather than individual. This fiction interprets war as a part of nature. It interprets this particular war as a step in the Industrial Revolution, as the triumph of the machine civilization over the agricultural civilization.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

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1. From my investigation of the interpretation of the American Civil War in American fiction, I have found that there have been primarily two types of interpretations, one political and the other psychological. These two types have alternated, one replacing the other approximately every twenty years. Fictional interpretations of the American Civil War have given, first, a political interpretation characterized by partisanship and reconciliation; second, a psychological interpretation characterized by realism and sentimentalism; third, a political interpretation characterized by naturalism and humanitarianism; and fourth, a psychological interpretation characterized by naturalism and industrialism. It is reasonable to expect that, if interest in the Civil War continues, the alternation of political and psychological fictional interpretations will continue, also, and that the next years will produce more political interpretations of the American Civil War.

2. The literary forms used in the fictional interpretations of the war have, in general, been the forms available. The first period used the domestic novel, the

objectively realistic novel, and the local color story; the second period, the short story; the third period, the historical romance; and the fourth period, the psychological novel. The chief innovations in literary form were made by Stephen Vincent Benet in his panoramic, epic poem, which he may have hoped would be used for a motion picture, and by Evelyn Scott in her tremendous, composite picture of the war, a picture which is made up of more than sixty separate narratives.

Only two of the fictional interpretations of the war have become classics in American literature: Ambrose Bierce's Tales of Soldiers and Civilians (1891) and Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage (1895). Others which rise to distinction include: John William DeForest's Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty (1867), Silas Weir Mitchell's In War Time (1884), Winston Churchill's The Crisis (1901), Upton Sinclair's Manassas (1904), Mary Johnston's The Long Roll (1911) and Cease Firing (1912), Stephen Vincent Benet's John Brown's Body (1927), Evelyn Scott's The Wave (1929), MacKinlay Kantor's Long Remember (1934) and Arouse and Beware (1936), William Faulkner's The Unvanquished (1938), and Allen Tate's The Fathers (1938).

3. The changing fictional interpretation of the war

coincided with the historical interpretation.[1] The earliest historians of the North blamed slavery for the war, and the earliest historians of the South pleaded State's Rights and defended the South on Constitutional grounds. Among these historians were John W. Draper, Alexander Stephens, and Jefferson Davis. Following them, the history of the war was, for years, written almost entirely by Northerners of the Nationalist School. These historians passed sentence on the South as the assailant of nationality and as the defender of a decadent civilization. They pictured slavery as the great moral wrong of the age and interpreted the war as a struggle between the forces of light and darkness. They traced political and military history and rarely turned to the population outside the legislative halls and behind the lines of battle. Herman Von Holst, James Schouler, John W. Burgess, and James Ford Rhodes are outstanding in the Nationalist School. Beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

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[1] My summary of historical interpretations of the Civil War is based both on my reading of the history itself and on (1) Michael Kraus, A History of American History (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937) and (2) William T. Hutchinson, editor, The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography by his former students at the University of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937). I have not given the titles of the histories because they may be found in the works just cited and because many of them are in my bibliography.

historians studied the war from other angles. They were more sympathetic with the South and with slavery and they interpreted the war as a social revolution or as a part of the Industrial Revolution. John Bach McMaster, Woodrow Wilson, and Charles and Mary Beard give social and economic interpretations of the war in contrast to the preceding moral and political treatments. More recently historians have made careful studies of life in the Old South, of the anti-slavery movement, of foreign relations during the war, of life in various sections of the country in the war period, and so on. Among these historians are William E. Dodd, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Jesse Macy, Frank Lawrence Owsley, and Arthur Charles Cole. The historians who followed those of the Nationalist School have done much toward wiping out all the charges which have been made against the South. They agree that, as actually carried out in the South, slavery was not an inhumane institution. What harshness and brutality there was came, chiefly with three aspects -- slave crimes, runaways, and internal slave trade -- aspects which did not touch the majority of the slaves. In addition, these historians have pointed out that slavery has not disappeared from the world even yet,[2] that it grew naturally in the South, and that before the Northern abolitionist interference South-

erners were gradually doing away with slavery. Finally, recent historians have denied the great superiority in 1861 of Northern culture and education over Southern culture. They rank the South of 1861 very little, if any, behind the North. Recent historians say that the North and South simply had different civilizations and that the war succeeded in bringing the South closer to the Northern way of life and in making the Northern civilization the American civilization. It is easy to see the similarity between these changing historical interpretations and the fictional interpretations.

4. As for the larger, human significance of the American Civil War, neither the historians nor the story-writers have attained the depth of insight which was expressed by two contemporaries. Walt Whitman in his Leaves of Grass and in his prose writings and Abraham Lincoln in his Second Inaugural Address have given us the noblest interpretations of the war in human terms. Both Northerners, they expressed the same admiration and hope for this democratic Union that were expressed by the historical romancers in the first decade of this century, but

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[2] It still exists in nineteen countries and holds in its grasp 5,000,000 people. -- J. G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1937), p. 37.

they went deeper.

The war strengthened Whitman's faith in this Democracy by strengthening his faith in the common man. Whitman said, "I never before so realized the majesty and reality of the American people en masse. . . . It fell upon me like a great awe."[3] Whitman did not fight in the war, but he served in the Union army as a nurse from 1862 to 1865. In "Drum Taps" he says:

> Aroused and angry,
> I thought to beat the alarum, and urge relentless war,
> But soon my fingers fail'd me, my face droop'd, and I resigned myself,
> To sit by the wounded and soothe them, or silently watch the dead.[4]

Whitman's reactions to what he saw during his three years of nursing speak well for the character of the American people:

> The movements of the late secession war, and their results, to any sense that studies well and comprehends them, show that popular democracy, whatever its faults and dangers, practically justifies itself beyond the proudest claims and wildest hopes of its enthusiasts. . . . Descending to detail, entering any of the armies, and mixing with the private soldiers, we see and have seen august spectacles. We have seen the alacrity with which the American-born

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[3] Walt Whitman, Autobiographia, p. 73. Quoted in Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930), III, 77.

[4] Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1900), p. 240.

populace . . . sprang, at the first tap of the drum, to arms . . . We have seen the unequal'd docility and obedience of these soldiers. We have seen them tried long and long by hopelessness, mismanagement, and by defeat; have seen the incredible slaughter toward or through which the armies . . . unhesitatingly obey'd orders to advance. We have seen them in trench, or crouching behind breastwork, or tramping in deep mud, or amid pouring rain or thick-falling snow, or under forced marches in hottest summer . . . yet the great bulk bearing steadily on, cheery enough, hollow-bellied from hunger, but sinewy with unconquerable resolution.

We have seen this race proved by wholesale by drearier, yet more fearful tests -- the wound, the amputation, the shatter'd face or limb, the slow hot fever, long impatient anchorage in bed, and all the forms of maiming, operation and disease. . . . One night in the gloomiest period of the war, in the Patent Office hospital in Washington city, as I stood by the bedside of a Pennsylvania soldier, who lay, conscious of quick approaching death, yet perfectly calm, and with noble, spiritual manner, the veteran surgeon, turning aside, said to me, that though he had witness'd many, many deaths of soldiers, and had been a worker at Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, etc., he had not seen yet the first case of man or boy that met the approach of dissolution with cowardly qualms or terror. My own observation fully bears out the remark.

What have we here, if not, towering above all talk and argument, the plentifully-supplied, last-needed proof of democracy, in its personalities? Curiously enough, too, the proof on this point comes, I should say, every bit as much from the south, as from the north. Although I have spoken only of the latter, yet I deliberately include all. Grand, common stock! to me the accomplish'd and convincing growth prophetic of the future; proof undeniable to sharpest sense, of perfect beauty, tenderness and pluck, that never feudal lord, nor Greek, nor Roman breed, yet rival'd. Let no tongue ever speak in disparagement of the American races, north or south, to one who has been through the war in the great army hospitals.[5]

Lincoln, too, felt the suffering of humanity, North and South. His Second Inaugural Address, given March 4, 1865, closes with these timeless words:

> With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

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[5] Walt Whitman, "Democratic Vistas," in Prose Works (Philadelphia: David McKay, Publisher, n. d.), pp. 216-218.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

(NOTE: My list of fiction is a selected, not a complete, bibliography. The sources of a full list of Civil War fiction are available. The best source, for fiction up to 1900, is Miss Smith's Doctoral dissertation. The sources for the period since 1900 include Baker's Guide to Historical Fiction, library card catalogs (listed under United States History, Civil War, Fiction), histories of American Literature, and magazines including American Literature, The Saturday Review of Literature, and The New Republic.)

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